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I.—THE RICHARDSONS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A LETTER FROM JOHN P. RICHARDSON TO DOCTOR JOSEPH JOHNSON.

CLARENDON, September 29th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR :

Allow me to offer you a very sincere apology for so long an interval as has elapsed, between the date of yours of the 4th ult. and this reply.

In addition to other circumstances, which I will not trouble you by stating, a very severe attack of bilious fever, from which I am but still partially recovered, has unavoidably increased the causes of delay.

No subject, I assure you, could be more interesting to me, than that to which you have adverted ; and there is no one into whose hands I would more cheerfully confide the record of my ancestor's revolutionary services and merits, than in yours.

As full as our family chronicles are, of legends and traditionary incidents of the most important and interesting character, yet, in the absence of all living testimony, and received as they now necessarily are, from secondary or hearsay witnesses, I exceedingly regret my inability at this instant, to present them to you in that authentic and historical form, in which it is most desirable they should be published.

In the meantime, I feel sufficiently authorized by all concurrent evidence to give you the following brief sketch of my grandfather's biography and public services :

General RICHARD RICHARDSON, Senior, was by birth a Virginian ; of highly respectable parentage ; with large family connections in that State ; possessed of as good an education as the times and circumstances of the country then afforded ; and, like General Washington and most of the youth of *that day and State*, more particularly qualified by the character of his studies, to pursue the occupation of a Surveyor, at that time regarded the most honorable as well as the most useful.

His habits and predilections in that line of life, first induced him, perhaps, to visit South Carolina,

as the best field to gratify both his professional and speculative ardor, and where the spirit of enterprise and emigration in Virginia were then chiefly directed. His judgment wisely and happily guided him in the choice and location of lands, so large in extent, and so valuable in quality, as at once to elevate him to wealth ; and which, even in the long culture and multiplied subdivisions of his numerous descendants, are still possessed of adequate and exhaustless resources of fertility. His remarkable qualities of prudence, firmness, dignity, benevolence, frankness, and self-possession, united to a fine and commanding exterior, agreeable temper, and amiable and courteous, but grave, deportment, soon won for him the confidence of the whole interior of the State, a large portion of which was then comprised in the "County of Craven," in which his residence was situated. Perhaps no one but General Washington himself, at that time, possessed the affections and confidence of his fellow-citizens in this portion of the State, to the same profound and unlimited extent as General Richard Richardson. He was often the voluntarily selected judge and arbiter of most of the feuds, strifes, bickerings, and dissensions among his fellow-citizens, embracing a sort of judicial jurisdiction, extending from the Santee River to the North Carolina Line.

His dwelling frequently presented the aspect of a place of Assizes ; and few if any were ever known to possess the moral hardihood to appeal to another or higher tribunal. The remains of that strong personal impression, made on the minds of men by the force and rectitude of his character, is still remembered by many of the older inhabitants of Lancaster, and has often been kindly and favorably manifested towards his descendants, on occasions of seeking the confidence of that People.

He commanded the military forces of the State, in several Campaigns against the Indians, where his reputation as an officer was first acquired.

In addition to the services recorded in DRAYTON's *Memoirs*, his influence, both as a citizen and an officer, was actively exerted in counteracting the Tories of the interior, and rallying assistance for the protection of the city.



He held a high and distinguished command under General Lincoln, in the Campaigns succeeding the capture of Savannah; and which, disastrous and discouraging as was their commencement, and dark as the fortunes of the South then were, finally terminated in raising the first Siege of Charleston, and the retreat of the British forces under General Provost to the Islands on our Southern Coasts.

In the capitulation of Charleston, he was made a prisoner with other General officers in command of that station, and was permitted to return under a Parole to his family and his residence.

The forced construction of allegiance, subsequently placed by the British Commander on these terms of capitulation, revolted his sense of duty and good faith, and added energy and bitterness to the counsels which he imparted to his countrymen. When Lord Cornwallis, therefore, in the military excursion of the ensuing summer, discovered that the presence and counsels of General Richardson among his fellow-citizens of the interior, were still exerting an unhappy influence on the Royal cause, he proposed, in a conference held with him in the presence of his family, that he should either unite himself to the Royal standard, with a *Carte Blanche* for any baronial possessions, or titles, or offices, in the power of the Crown to bestow; or that he must otherwise submit to the alternative of being subjected to close confinement. The former was rejected with disdain, and in such dignified terms as to elicit an involuntary expression of respect and admiration from his Lordship, for the character of a man so sternly adhering to his principles. His reply is *authentically* reported in these words:—"That he 'had, from the best convictions of his mind, embarked in a cause which he believed to be righteous and just: that he had knowingly and willingly staked life, family, property, and *all* up on the issue; that he was prepared to suffer, or triumph with it; and that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than betray his country or deceive his friends."

In submitting to the alternative, his health pined away under the influence of a sickly climate and a loathsome prison-house; the infirmities of old age (then in his seventy-sixth year), increased rapidly upon him; and death was so near and so inevitably approximating, that he was permitted, in the September following, to leave the Island, to linger out his last remaining hours at his residence in Clarendon.

His remains had been interred but a short time before Tarleton established his Head-quarters on the premises, and disinterred the body, under the double pretext of gratifying his curiosity by examining the features of a man of his reputed character and of searching for hidden treasures. After this inhuman and brutal desecration, he per-

mitted it, at the entreaties of his family, to be again sepulchred.

Such property as could not be pressed into the British service, was wantonly and sedulously destroyed. Provisions and Houses were burnt; stock of all descriptions slaughtered or driven away; negroes captured or decoyed; until, at last, nothing but the dwelling-house remaining, he *personally* directed the torch to be applied to it, with the avowed intention of making it the funeral pile of a widowed mother and her "three young rebels." The humanity of one of his officers interposed to rescue them from the flames; and his earnest remonstrance finally succeeded in allaying the savage determination of his superior.

During the sojourn of Tarleton and his Corps in the neighborhood, with a view of counteracting the operations and influence of General Marion, the family of General Richardson were obliged to subsist on the voluntary charity of a few faithful and affectionate servants, leaving their hiding places at night, to furnish them food by stealth. Greater instances of kindness, disinterestedness, fidelity, and devotion, were never, perhaps, exemplified in any of the relations of life.

Colonel RICHARD RICHARDSON, JUNIOR, was made a prisoner with his father, but immediately after the death of the latter, escaped from the Island where he was confined, and joined the American forces under Marion.

Having for the reasons that actuated many others (arising out of the constructive allegiance, which the British Commander pretended to regard all prisoners under Parole as resuming to the Crown), violated the bounds and terms of his imprisonment, his life was, of course, forfeited and by the direction of the officer in command of the station from whence he escaped, diligently sought after by the Tories and Loyalists in the vicinity. And never was search after the life of human victim quickened and impelled by a more vindictive and persecuting spirit. Surprise, treachery, and death lurked everywhere around him: and the only places of comparative safety were the Camp and the Battlefield.

Hence he was always and unremittingly in the service; in every action or skirmish with the foe, in which Marion was engaged; and even in the intervals of relaxation, when the great body of that officer's Troops were obliged for security, by surprise, the scarcity of provisions, or in the absence of any pressing service, to be temporarily dispersed, he was still among the few to remain with the General, ready for future enterprise or organization.

On one rare occasion of indulgence to his domestic feelings, being permitted to pay a short visit to his family, he was directed by General Marion to be accompanied by a small guard, for greater security and protection. He had scarcely



arrived at his dwelling, before a large force of British Troops and Tories was discovered advancing rapidly down the avenue, in hot and eager pursuit of their hated victim.

To remount the wearied steeds from which they had just alighted and rush precipitately down the steep acclivity at the opposite side of the House, with the almost impervious swamps at its base, were the only means of safety left to them. *One* only of the small party, (a man by the name of Roberts) was captured in the effort to escape; and while being summarily executed on a walnut tree but a few paces from the door, the wife and family of Colonel Richardson were rudely forced out of the house to witness the terrifying spectacle.

In the savage gratification of the moment, she was directed to behold the dying struggles of one of her husband's partisans, and to meditate on the doom which, they assured her, they designed very soon to subject him. She replied "that she did not doubt the capacity of men who could deliberately outrage the feelings of a woman, to perpetrate any act of cowardly treachery or inhumanity on a brave but unfortunate foe. But conquer or capture my husband first, if you *can*, or *dare*, before you presume to boast of your savage triumph and cruelty; and let me tell you in the meanwhile, that many or most of you will be in the condition to implore his mercy, long before he will ever have need to supplicate, or will deign to accept yours." And it did indeed retributively and historically so happen in the stirring and changeful incidents of the times, that the lives of some of these very brutal and inhuman monsters were generously spared and protected by the clemency of Colonel Richardson. from the revenge and retaliation of his own zealous and excited partisans.

During this scene of horror and suffering, Tarleton was present, and apparently a pleased, although a silent spectator. His only remark was, "that he commiserated the trials and endurance of the heroic women; but that his sanction of such acts of signal and exemplary severity was necessary to the success of the Royal cause."

In the progress of his useful and active service, Richard Richardson rose to the rank of Colonel, under Marion, and was always regarded as one of his most cool, daring, and confidential officers.

At the Battle of the Entaw when the Militia under Marion was deputed to commence the action, Colonel Richardson was posted on the right of his line, as the place of honor and of danger.

To the surprise of the whole army, these comparatively undisciplined troops, urged by the voice and example of their officers, withstood the hottest and most galling fire of the enemy, and

not only spiritedly commenced, but gallantly sustained, the brunt of the action to its successful termination.

During the trying incidents of this (perhaps the best and hardest fought) battle in the South, Colonel Richardson was seen encouraging and leading on his troops with a cool and desperate valor, that won for him the personal admiration of the whole American Army, and the distinction of being one of the most conspicuous heroes of the day. In the course of the engagement, he was wounded in the leg with a musket ball, by which his horse was at the same time killed.

But he had scarcely been disentangled from his dead steed, before he mounted another, and regardless of suffering, as he was reckless of danger, resumed his active and zealous participation in the contest, with apparently greater ardor and effect.

He reached a ripe old age; was always unambitious; would never voluntarily allude to his personal adventures or interest in the important events of the war; heartily forgave the persecution of his adversaries; often protected them in after times from the vindictive feelings and criminations of his less generous Whig friends; and always endeavored to palliate the motives of their misguided conduct. Possessed of a mild and agreeable temper that scarcely any of the ordinary incidents of life could ruffle, yet even in his old age, if ever the heroism of his life and character was for a moment forgotten, by any one impertinently or rudely daring to trespass on his rights or his feelings, it was but for them to see the spirit of the lion flash in his eye, or to hear the language of warning and defiance in his calm tones of dignity and self possession, to quail under the rebuke and forbear in an instant the offence.

He has left numerous descendants, occupying the most respectable places in society.

Captain EDWARD RICHARDSON held a commission in "Thompson's Rangers," and was engaged in most of the partisan services of that Corps. He was a man of commanding person, brave, generous, of great purity of character, fine taste, and sprightly intellect.

I have thus, my dear Sir, endeavored to give you a brief and hasty sketch of my ancestors' lives and public services. The only merit or interest that I can presume to claim for it is the truth and authenticity of such things as I have stated *as facts*. I have been careful to derive them from the best sources, and have sedulously abstained from including any thing of an apocryphal character, although often possessed of a much higher interest than any which I have narrated.

You will oblige me by giving as full an account of their services as the prescribed limits of your work will permit. It will be the first time that any thing like historical justice has ever been done to them. And even now, it can be but par-



tial—for most of the memorials of their lives and usefulness are already lost in the forgotten incidents of an age, fast fading from the memory of man, and beginning to be substituted by false and imaginary traditions and events.

With the highest regards,  
Yrs Dr Sr Very truly  
& respectfully

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Doctor Joseph Johnson.  
Charleston.

## II.—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD BROOK- LYN."—CONCLUDED.

READ BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, MAY 16, 1867, BY COLONEL THOMAS  
F. DE VOE.

We turn to THOMAS EVERIT, SENIOR, who appears to have come from an old stock of Butchers, as we find early in 1698, Edward Everitt, Butcher, obtained a Freeman-ship to commence business within the City of New York. Soon after, he removed to Long Island, from which place he attended the New York Markets, irregularly.

Afterwards appeared in the same line of business, a Richard Everit, supposed to be his son, who, in 1730, built or repaired a Slaughter-house, on a small creek which put up from the East river, in the Town of *Brookland*. The location now would place it at the intersection of Columbia and Doughty-streets. In this building, about 1720, Thomas Everit, Senior, commenced his profession, as it appears, without the assistance of Negro Slaves, his help being the white servants, whose time he had purchased, and his apprentices, with whom he attended the New York Markets almost daily.

In 1763, the press says, "There was killed by "Thomas Everit, a Cow raised and fattened by "Col. Ben<sup>n</sup> Treadwell of Great Neck, whose "weight was (meat, hide and rough fat) 813 "pounds. This perhaps exceeds any killed in "this Province."

In 1769, we find Everit in receipt of the property of Samuel Skidmore, a Butcher, previously noticed, who "gave notice to his creditors "to show cause why an assignment of his estate "should not be made to Thomas Everit, also of "Brooklyn, on Nassau Island, Butcher, and he "be thereupon discharged."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, "A "meeting of the 'Company of Light Horse' of "Brooklyn, was held on the 15 of September, "1775, at Adolph Waldron's, Inn holder, at "Brooklyn Ferry, when Thomas Everit was "elected 2d Lieut: in the month of March follow-

"ing (1776) he signed the Declaration and took up "his Commission."

Onderdonk informs us, that the members of this Troop were first in service under General Greene, who ordered them to seize all the fat stock of the disaffected for Commissary Brown. They next drove off stock under General Woodhull; and, after the defeat at Brooklyn, in August, 1776, as they were proceeding Eastward to join Colonel Livingston, they were ordered off the Island by Colonel Potter. Everit, however, returned; and, in the month of November, following, renewed his allegiance to King George. He was a man of considerable talent, strictly honest, and possessed a very kind heart. His sons, Thomas, William, and Richard, were also Butchers, and will be noticed in their proper order.

THOMAS EVERIT, JUNIOR, was born in Brooklyn, in 1764. When a boy, he was remarkable for his quiet and studious habits; and, for those war-like times, he became an excellent scholar. He served with his father until he mastered his profession, when he took charge of his father's stall and business in the old Fly Market, in New York, where he continued until about the year 1796, when he quit the market; became engaged in farming, near Hempstead; and joined the Society of Friends. After the lapse of a few years, he returned to Brooklyn. Here, with his old bosom-friend, John Doughty, he formed a partnership in the Tanning and Wool business, and established a successful and extensive trade; after which his partner retired from the firm.

Mr. Michael Trappel, yet living, once a Brooklyn Butcher, informed me that he worked for Everit during more than twenty years, in this Hide and Wool business; and that he always knew him to be the same honest, unpretending, good man, whose simple habits, dress, and speech were fully and faithfully carried out, in his new faith. He was always seeking to do his fellow man some service, either by advice or assistance, and this, too, in the most unassuming manner; as many will bear testimony, even at this late day. He continued business, many years, in Brooklyn, from whence he afterwards removed it, to No. 32 Ferry-street, New York, where yet remains his son Valentine, continuing his predecessor's business.

Thomas Everit died in the year 1841, leaving many relatives and friends, the latter of whom yet speak glowingly of his many virtues.

His brother WILLIAM, in 1775, joined the Troop with Thomas, as a private, and continued with it until it left Long Island; and afterwards, it is stated, he was engaged in the Commissary Department of the American Army. We do not, however, find him again, until the year 1786, when he appeared in the Fly Market, and was a resident of the City of New York.



RICHARD EVERIT, another brother, also attended the same Market, and resided with his father, at Brooklyn, until his marriage, when he removed quite near the Ferry. He afterwards became one of the first Board of Trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal Meeting-house, established here, in 1794.

In 1796, we find advertised, at private sale, a large plot of ground and several houses, in Brooklyn, besides three or four rooms to let, in a house fronting on the East river. "For particulars enquire of Richard Everit or John Doughty, in 'the Fly Market, No. 47.'" He did not, however, remain long after this in the old Market, as he was stricken with the Yellow Fever; and died in the calamitous year, 1798.

MATTHEW GLEAVES, we introduce in the year 1755, at which time he appeared to be serving, or was engaged with, one of the Horsfields. The preparation for war with the French and Indians, at this period, demanded an Express-rider from Brooklyn, to convey the necessary papers to the Magistrates at the East end of Long Island. Gleaves became thus employed by the Government officers; and for the service he received the sum of five dollars.

We soon after find him as one of the Butchers of the old Fly Market, where he became engaged in a large and profitable business.

In 1760, he married Miss Margaret Rote, and purchased a fine property in Brooklyn, just on the rise of the hill, and lying near the old Ferry road.

At the commencement of the Revolution, Gleaves, with John Carpenter, was supplying the Continental troops with beef. This incident I have already referred to, in the sketch of Carpenter, from information received through their Petition to the Continental Congress; and thus this interesting fact has been handed down to us.

After the Revolution, Gleaves was again found in the old Market, and residing in Brooklyn, with a handsome property,

In the description of the property belonging once to Alexander Colden, it is said to have joined, "The land lately sold by Timothy Horsfield to John Kingston," which was on the South side of Fulton-street, from high water mark, up, over the Hill. Another plot was said to have been "granted to John Tallman, by the said Timothy Horsfield, in a Deed bearing date the third day of October, in the year of our Lord, One thousand, seven hundred, and fifty three." One other piece of land was said to be "lying to the South-east of a dwelling house, about five or six rods distant, bounded on the North, by the land belonging to Matthew Gleaves; South by the land of John Carpenter; and on the West by a road leading to the highway."

In the year 1786 or 7, in an old brick house, on

Fulton-street, a Protestant Episcopal service was performed; and among the officers of the organization, we find several Butchers, of which Matthew Gleaves was one, and a member of the Board of Trustees. He then resided on or near the Bedford road, just on the boundaries of the fire limits.

Matthew Gleaves is described by those who knew him well, as a finely formed man, as well as a finished gentleman, and one of the best dressed in the profession. He regarded personal appearance with particular care and precision. One of his associates says—"he invariably looked as if 'he came out of a band box, when he arrived at 'the Fly-market for daily business.'" He usually wore silk breeches, with buckles to match, which also fastened up the pearl-white silk stockings which covered his well-formed limbs, and in addition to these, another pair of large silver buckles garnished the highly polished shoes which completed this portion of his *understanding*. Above, on his cranium, he wore a well-powdered wig, which fell in a curling roll around his shoulders; while on the top of all, gracefully rested his neat three-cornered hat.

He died about the year 1800; a true gentleman of the olden school.

Back again, about the year 1760, we find JOHN DOUGHTY, SENIOR, with several other Brooklyn and New York Butchers petitioning the Corporation of the City of New York, "to oblige Mr. Nicholas Bayard (the lessee of the Public Slaughter-house) to keep it in order, as well as to arrange the Regulations that all could be accommodated, or else to indulge the petitioners with the privilege of erecting their own buildings, in such places as they shall provide and which this Corporation shall approve of." The latter clause, at least, was not granted to them.

The object of the Brooklyn Butchers in signing this Petition, at that period, appears to have been, that Long Island did not wholly produce a supply of live stock for the markets of New York; besides, in certain seasons, the East-river became closed with ice, or heavy fogs, or storms, when it was as much as they could accomplish to get passengers across; to say nothing of Cattle or Teams, which occasionally were waiting for weeks before they could be passed over the river with safety. Again, a scarcity of Cattle would sometimes send the Butchers travelling through the other Counties of the Province, to purchase stock—this was before Drovers were in existence—which were driven down to the City, where in this objectionable public building, the Butchers were obliged to prepare their meats.

Doughty continued in the Fly Market during the Revolution, assisted by his son, John, where, for a period, we lose sight of him.

I am inclined to suppose that John Doughty Senior, was a member of the Society of Friends



and a son of Charles Doughty, Senior, who joined the Society about the year 1730. This Charles Doughty was proposed by some Friends in a document, now in my possession, which reads as follows:

"And at ye request of Robert Murrey, a liver  
"in this place we have to say, that he has Ex-  
"prest his desire to come under ye notice of  
"Friends for near twelve months in and before  
"which time he hath frequented our meetings,  
"and been of a pretty orderly conversation, as far  
"as we know, which we refer to your considera-  
"tion, also there are two men at *York Ferry*  
"who have in like manner behaved and desire  
"to come under Friends notice if Friends think  
"proper, their names are Charles Doughty and  
"Samuel Hiks."

We now turn to JOHN DOUGHTY, JUNIOR, who had received a liberal education, and began business with his father in the Fly Market, about the period of the Revolution.

The subject of a Fire Company had been considerably discussed among several of the prominent Townsmen; and it was decided to call a meeting at the house of the Widow Moser, near the Ferry-landing, on the thirtieth of April, 1785, when it appears that John Doughty, Junior, who was of an active turn of mind, with his time not wholly occupied with business, was elected one of the seven members of a Fire Company, which afterwards became known as "WASHINGTON COMPANY, No. 1." In this Company he served eight years.

In 1790, he appears to have been one of the three Assessors for the Town, and continued in this office, three years in succession. In 1796, he was placed in the responsible position of Town-clerk, which office he held, year after year, for the space of Thirty-four years, and gave general satisfaction.

In the several years about the period of 1800, when the Yellow fever visited the City of New York, provisions were generally scarce and high; in fact, in the seasons of its prevalence, country people would not approach the City with their produce, and consequently the Markets were either deserted or the few who were left, removed to some more healthy portion of the City. Many Butchers, especially those from Brooklyn, discontinued attending the New York Markets until the fever had abated.

In 1796, we find John Doughty had supplied one Nathaniel Foster with fresh meat, which appears in have been charged, the Beef and Mutton at eight pence, and the Lamb, ten pence per pound; and the next year, the price had risen two pence per pound, on each of these items, which prices were then considered very high: and the reason given was, that stock was scarce and high, and occasionally with a supply so short that

many Butchers were absent from their stands for several days or weeks together.

It was then a law that Butchers who failed to personally attend their stalls for a period of fourteen days were dispossessed, unless they could give satisfactory reasons for their absence. In the month of September of that year, Doughty was ordered to appear before the Board to answer such complaint. He attended, and gave sufficient reasons for such absence.

In the same year, we find the first humane act on record, towards the abolition of slavery in the town of Brooklyn, by the manumission and setting free of a colored slave, which was done by John Doughty, on the fourth day of March, 1797; and, afterwards, he gave to others their freedom.

In the performance of his duties as Town-clerk, perhaps he witnessed more manumissions from Slavery than any other individual in the Town or Village; in fact the duties of his office about this period required a greater portion of his time, as the "Act for the gradual abolition of Slavery," was passed in the month of March, 1799, after which time all the Births and Names of the children of Slaves were ordered to be recorded in the Books of the Town-clerk. To afford an idea of this circumstance, the record appears: "I  
"Certify that one negro child was born on the  
"thirteenth of July, 1799, according to the law  
"passed to be recorded and named, William  
"Lambert Suydam." Again: "That I, Teunis  
"Tiebout, had a male child born, the fourth of  
"December last pass'd, named Anthony Brist, of  
"my slave, which I do request to be recorded.  
"Witness my hand this twenty fourth of Decem-  
"ber, 1799.

"TEUNIS TIEBOUT."

The various duties imposed upon Doughty continued to increase very fast, and as the public duties could not be neglected, it occasionally became quite onerous to him, as his daily business at the Market called him before daylight and usually ended at noon; then the crossing of the Ferry, followed with a hasty meal, when official or other duties began, which sometimes kept him constantly employed even unto the midnight hour. Four hours duty, from ten to two, did not then, as now, constitute an official day's work; but the business daily presenting itself was daily attended to; and Doughty performed all the required services satisfactorily.

In 1812, the duties of "Overseer of the Highway" was placed upon Doughty; and again, in 1819, the same office is found in his possession.

Again: in the year 1812, we find Doughty a "Fire Engineer," with the additional duties of Clerk and Treasurer of the Fire Department; and when the office of Chief Engineer was established, which took place in 1816, John Doughty



was the first one chosen to represent that office, but resigned it the next year, no doubt from various duties imposed upon him. However, in 1821, he again occupied the position, and retained it until 1823; when an Act was passed, incorporating the Fire Department, and he, by unanimous consent, was chosen President.

A prominent point in the character of Doughty was the early interest he exhibited in the cause of Public Education. We find him, therefore, in 1801, a Commissioner of Public Schools for that portion of the Town known as "*The Ferry*," which office he held several years; and when, in 1816, "DISTRICT SCHOOL No. 1," was organized, he was selected as its Clerk.

The Town of Brooklyn, in 1816, was changed into a Village by incorporation; and among the the Trustees named in the bill we find Judge Garrison and John Doughty. In 1819, Doughty was again selected as a Trustee; and this office he held until 1829, a portion of the time as Presiding officer. One year after this, the responsible duties of "Collector of the Village" were performed by him. In fact it may be said, that through a long and well-spent life, Doughty held nearly all the various positions of a public and private character that belonged to the Town and Village; and the manner in which he performed these various duties was amply illustrated by the confidence reposed in him by his fellow townsmen, who so persistently showered upon him so many services as to bewilder the intellect of any but an extraordinary man.

In all the various public offices and professional attention to his business, for a period of over Fifty years, he never thought of *gain to his coffers*, but was ever anxious to be a public benefactor, as well as an honest, faithful, Christian man; and with this character, he yielded his spirit to his Maker, on the sixteenth of May, 1832.

The Authorities in consideration of his great public worth, attached his name to one of the streets in this place.

GEORGE POWERS, SENIOR, is another name which demands from History, at least a line of record. Although tradition says, he was a Hessian soldier, who during the Revolution, came over with the British Troops to help quell the patriots, my examination of the subject has convinced me, that he was not one of those hirelings; but, on the other hand, he was among those who suffered much for their love of country.

I find him, before the Revolution, a Butcher in the old Fly-market, from which, in 1774, he thus advertised a "run-away":

"A white boy named George Wilmot, twenty years old, of a thin visage, light colored hair, with a mole on his left cheek. Had on when he went away, a light drab jacket, blue duffil trousers, and a hat. All persons are hereby

"warned from harboring, or giving him any credit on my account."

"GEORGE POWERS,  
Butcher in the Fly Market."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, he took sides with "the Sons of Liberty," and joined a Company called "The Brooklyn Troop of Horse," under Captain Adolph Waldron, who was an Innholder, at Brooklyn Ferry,

The services of this Company have been previously described, but when they were ordered off Long Island, Powers and several others crossed the Sound, from Huntingdon to Norwalk, leaving their horses behind, which were lost to them; and we find those men in Dutchess County, in October, 1776, in destitute circumstances; when they received their pay from the Convention.

In 1782, before the termination of the War, although it was known to be near, Powers returned to Brooklyn, where he again commenced business, as we find, on the twelfth of October, of that year, the following:

"Ran away from George Powers, Butcher, at Brooklyn Ferry, a young negro fellow named "Cato,—for which he offers two guineas reward."

Early in 1784, he also gave "Notice, that all persons indebted to George Powers, Senior, of Brooklyn Ferry, are desired to pay their respective debts to no person but himself, likewise "not to trust any person on his account."

Powers' early return gave him many advantages. First: in establishing a profitable business before the British Troops left the country; then, there were offered many opportunities for investing a small amount of money in various ways, as in teams of horses and cattle, wagons, etc., which the retreating British Troops could not carry away with them. These investments, after a few years, returned large profits. His gains were laid out principally in landed property in the Town, which afterwards became very valuable.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting-house was incorporated in the Town, in an old brick house now located about No. 43 Fulton-street. In this building, the Protestant Episcopal Service was read: and from that beginning afterwards originated ST. ANNE'S CHURCH. Among its first officers appear George Powers, as Secretary, and John Carpenter, as Treasurer.

Two years after, Powers became a Church-warden, which office he held until his death, which occurred in 1826, when he was aged eighty-two years. In the meantime, Powers was frequently a Lay Delegate to the Diocesan Convention. He was also one of the Vestry, as well as one of the most liberal benefactors of the Church, giving one thousand dollars on one occasion. He however was considered wealthy; being in possession



of a large and valuable property which afterwards proved so, when his estate was sold for about five hundred thousand dollars.

The Episcopal Service appears to have been only irregularly held during the early part of the Revolution, and perhaps then only among the British officers, whose Chaplains officiated on these occasions; while the Dutch Reformed Congregation, who had worshipped so many years, prior to the Revolution, in the old Brooklyn Church, was driven from its church-edifice, or, at least, deprived of its use, in consequence of its being taken for other purposes, when the British Troops had taken possession of the Town.

We find, however, that, in 1778, an arrangement was made, by which both Congregations could worship in this old Church. It was thus announced:—"On Sunday morning, the fifth inst. to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, the Church at Brooklyn was opened and divine service, according to the ritual of the Church of England, performed by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Seares [Sayres] "who preached an excellent sermon, and baptized a *child*, which was the *First infant* admitted to that sacrament within said Church, "where there will be prayers and a sermon next Sunday and on Good Friday, also on three Sundays following. Every fourth Sunday afterwards the Church will be occupied by the "Dutch Congregation."

JOHN GARRISON, better known as Judge Garrison, was another old Fly-market Butcher.

Born at Gravesend, Long Island, in 1764, and while a boy removed to Brooklyn, he served his time in that town, with Matthew Gleeves; and commenced business about the year 1785, from which time to the day of his death, he was identified with the interests of both the Town and Village of Brooklyn.

Among the public and private positions which he occupied, was a Fireman in 1787, '90, '91, '93, and '94; Overseer of the Poor, in 1803 and '4; Justice of the Peace, for many continuous years; Commissioner for Schools, in 1806 and 7; one of a Committee of the Board of Health, in 1809; Trustee of the Village, in 1816 and '26; and a Judge of the Municipal Court; the last of which offices he held until his decease, which occurred in January, 1831.

In early life, Judge Garrison became attached to the First Methodist Episcopal Society in Brooklyn, which appears to have been incorporated in 1794, at which time he was elected one of the Board of Trustees; and for a succession of thirty-six years, he was annually elected to that position.

In the year of the Society's incorporation, it proceeded to erect the First Methodist Episcopal Church, afterwards called the Sands-street Church. Before this building was finished, after his return

home from the laborious duties of his Saturday's attendance at Market, which often detained him until after eleven o'clock at night, Mr. Garrison, with his worthy help-mate, would repair to the unfinished building, for the purpose of clearing away the rubbish and cleansing the sacred edifice, for the reception of the congregation for Sabbath service. The congregation then numbered twenty-four white, and about fifteen colored, persons.

Judge Garrison, in person, was a man of remarkably large size, great strength, and active physical powers; his stature was erect to a fault: in height he measured six feet, two inches. His son, John F., often weighed his father, whose weight was three hundred pounds, at the time he was engaged in the old Fly-market. In the latter part of his life, he was inclined to corpulency; but always retained his early activity and erectness.

As a citizen, Judge Garrison was not only regarded as an honest, and upright man, but also as possessing a very liberal and generous mind. To the poor, more especially, his liberality was very great; and I find recorded, that he was, "one of the kindest hearted and purest minded men whom Brooklyn ever saw."

We turn now to one of Brooklyn's most remarkable and eccentric characters, found in the person of JACOB PATCHEN, who was long known and is yet remembered, especially for the persevering efforts, displayed in the various law suits against the authorities, in attempting to retain his ancient habitation taken from him for public purposes.

As early as the year 1784, we find him residing in one of "Two houses in the *Ferry street*" [present Fulton] "in *Brooklyne*, one now occupied "by Nicholas Adrianse, and the other by Jacob Patchen, both containing 66 feet in front and "73 feet in the rear, and 106 feet in length—"Then in the possession of Robt. G. Livingston."

Having served a regular apprenticeship, at tailoring, Patchen, about this period, was closely engaged in that business; but as the needle, lap-board, and goose, were not conducive either to his health or his peculiar ideas of what constituted the duties of a man, and being acquainted with the stalwart Garrison and Doughty, and several other Butchers, he, by an arrangement with one of them, changed his business, for one which was, perhaps, more disagreeable, but which he found was more congenial to his health and purse.

Shortly after the year 1790, he was found attending the old Fly-market, some two or three times a week, as a "Shirk" or "Shark" Butcher; although in a petition dated August, 1795 he states that he "is by trade a Butcher, and has "for a number of years been employed in that



"business in the City of New York, and has long been solicitous to procure a license for a stand in the Fly-market. To obtain that, your petitioner presented a petition upwards of two years since, but has not yet been able to procure the said license." The following persons "Certify that they are acquainted with him, and know him to be an industrious and sober man," Cortland V. Beuren, Wm Tredwell, Wm C. Thompson, Benj<sup>n</sup> Gatfield, Townsend & Nostrand, and Wm Post."

This petition came before the Authorities, who upon examination, became satisfied that he had not served a regular apprenticeship, so as to thoroughly understand the business, and, therefore, was not a competent person to hold a license from the Mayor, as a Butcher; but he was permitted to sell *small meats*, by the quarter, in the Country-market; and thus he continued for two years.

After this delay, Patchen came to the conclusion to out general the Authorities by introducing a Stall in the lower Fish-market, where he was found one winter morning, with a well furnished stall, ready for business. The records state that the Mayor, in the month of December, 1798, announced—"That he had removed Jacob Patchen from the Market, because he refused to remove a stall by him set up in the Fish Market, when required by the Clerk of the Market; which was approved of by the Board": and it was only sometime after, that he was permitted to sell meat again in the Fly-market.

An old friend yet living, who became intimately acquainted with Mr. Patchen, at an early period of his life, thus speaks of him: "Jacob Patchen was a most remarkable man; and although strictly honest, industrious, and punctual, he was strongly self-willed and persisting, which, through the course of his life, often brought him in opposition to the laws; especially when they did not conform to his peculiar ideas of right, he invariably resisted their power with his whole force. In person, he was quite tall, straight, and well-formed, with a somewhat expressive face, although it usually bore a stern, rigid, and selfish expression.

"He well understood the business of a small meat Butcher, being an excellent judge of small stock, more especially calves, which, after handling, he could almost invariably guess their live weight within three pounds; and he thinks he was the first Butcher who introduced the system of buying calves, which came from Long Island, by weight; in fact he would seldom buy in any other manner.

"When casting up accounts, either in buying or selling, the greasy right-knee of his leather breeches was raised, upon which an abbreviated rule of Arithmetic was satisfactorily performed.

"His dress was seldom varied or replaced; each

"article,—a part of which he made himself—always bore the same appearance. The round crown'd felt hat, with a broad brim roll'd up all around, sat firmly down upon his head, much lower behind than before; and this at times was ornamented with a well-smoked pipe, secured under the band. Then he presented the short kersey coat, cut in a sort of semi-quaker style, covered with metal buttons, the size of a Spanish dollar; a single-breasted waistcoat, buttoned up to the throat, containing two pockets large enough to shelter his doubled hands, clutching and guarding their sterling contents, the sinews of his business. Glancing downward, your eyes met his stout-formed northern limbs, encased with ancient buckskin, remarkable for its high polish, by an adhesive grease and other matter, which had rendered it waterproof; while below it appeared those common but comfortable articles which our Great-grand-dames were so famous in producing, by the employment of their leisure hours, while sitting by the high blazing piles of Hickory, on a winter's evening; which articles, some of our modern delicate dames, squeamishly call *Hose*, but which those old-fashioned, unintelligent producers, broadly and vulgarly called *Stockings*. These necessary articles were usually gray in color, and stout in texture; and Patchen fastened them below the knee by the compression of the ties of those famous leather breeches. A broad and thick pair of cow-skin shoes, fastened on the top with large steel buckles, completed his attire." "And this was his dress," says one of my informants, "when I first saw him, and the last, after an acquaintance of some twenty years." His dress, however, was partially modified at a later period, when corduroy's occasionally changed place with the leather breeches, and high boots took the place of shoes.

In the several public positions held by Patchen, in Brooklyn, we find, in 1787, he was "Road-master to the Ferry;" in 1798, an Assessor; in 1803, "Commissioner of Highways;" then, in 1811, he again held the same office, to which might be added several minor duties, with which he at intervals was intrusted, until the year 1831, when he was honored by being elected a Trustee of the Village.

Mr. Patchen's suits at law began in 1825, with the Trustees of the Village, for taking his old homestead, in which he had resided more than fifty years, for public purposes. This location is the present York, formerly Market-street, running from Fulton to James-street.

Patchen employed some of the best Counsel of that day, who, after several years of litigation, in which many interesting and laughable incidents occurred, succeeded in recovering the premi-



ses, arising from the fact of their having been taken from him by illegal process. In the end, however, the authorities obtained the property, several years after Brooklyn became a city.

In the meantime, Patchen continued, with persistent efforts, through his Counsel, to raise new issues on various points of law, until his death, which occurred in 1840; and thus, with his death, ended the earthly trials of Jacob Patchen.

We turn to BURDET STRYKER, another old Brooklynite. Although born and brought up in the place, he was never prominent in public office, yet he was a most willing and useful resident.

He served a regular apprenticeship with the highly esteemed Thomas Everit, Junior. Before he left his service, he joined the First Methodist Church; and, in 1794, became one of its Trustees. Two years after, he purchased Stand No. 60, in the Fly-market, for which he paid three hundred and ten pounds; and, soon after, he engaged in the business of a Tallow-chandler, in Brooklyn.

In 1799, the press notices "a gang of villains" stole two horses from the stable of Burdet Stryker, of Brooklyn. One of these was a favorite horse which he kept for the saddle, and occasionally to parade with when ordered out with "the Brooklyn Troop of Horse."

A grand celebration took place on the Fourth of July, 1804, when all the uniformed corps, consisting of the Brooklyn Troop of Horse, Republican Riflemen, Artillery, Washington Fusileers, and the Rising Sun Company, formed on Brooklyn Heights, where they performed various evolutions, under Colonel Jeremiah Johnson. In the afternoon, the officers dined together, and among the toasts offered on that occasion, was "Those hardy sons of Freedom, who died on board of the *Jersey Prison Ship*; their bones have severally had a grave, while their patriotism has merited a monument; may their memory be held in the highest veneration, until the end of time."

Whether it was this toast then offered, or the daily conversation on the same subject, but from that moment, Stryker became very much interested in the matter. Being somewhat patriotic and liberally disposed, with feelings strongly in favor of "old-fashioned Republicanism," which cause he was ready at all times to advance, without seeking rewards or office, he, with Benjamin Romaine, John Jackson, and others, became co-laborers in getting up a grand procession, and in removing the bones of martyrs from the Waalbogt, to a large vault in Jackson-street, which took place on the twenty-sixth of May, 1808, under the direction of the Tammany Society. Stryker then became the custodian of this vault, which to this day contains the thirteen coffins filled with those martyr relics of the Prison-ships.

When the War of 1812 commenced, Stryker

was elected Captain of the Brooklyn Republican Rifles, who offered their services, and were accepted; and after performing their term of duty at New Utrecht, Long Island, they returned home with much credit.

Stryker had previously established himself in business, first in the little Brooklyn Market, and afterward in Ferry (now Fulton) street, where he remained until his death, which occurred in the year 1825.

The Liberty-pole being near his place of business, he was induced also to take it in charge; and on all proper occasions the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze in a most ceremonious style. While the Liberty-pole existed, the town and village were satisfied, that he should remain its custodian. In the course of time, the old or first Liberty-pole became much decayed, and it was thought dangerous, when Stryker appealed to the Brooklynites to have it replaced with a new one. Many responded very liberally; yet there was a deficiency, or not enough collected to obtain such a one as would be a credit to the Village. There were many residents who belonged to the "Society of Friends," and were opposed to Liberty-poles; and they would not subscribe. However, Stryker thought that all the patriotism had not left the breast of his old "Bos," Thomas Everit, and he appealed to him. Friend Everit at once told him that he was opposed to all Liberty-poles; but, at the same time, he would give ten dollars to assist in taking down the old one. This, indeed, was a new idea, which Stryker afterwards advanced toward some others who held the same views as his old "Bos;" so that, in the end, sufficient means were furnished to save a second subscription from Stryker and the friends of the new Liberty-pole.

We have a few words also to say of DAVID SEAMAN, another prominent man in the profession, as well as a co-laborer in the affairs of Brooklyn.

As early as 1795, when making an application for a Stand in the old Fly-market, Seaman appears to have been highly recommended as an honest, worthy man, by some fifteen of the most distinguished men of that period. In a petition, he states that he "has served a regular apprenticeship with John Doughty, Junior, Butcher, who also endorses him, a practical Butcher, and an honest man."

With all these vouchers, Seaman appears to have been then unsuccessful; but the next year, he purchased at auction, Stand No. 71 Fly-market, for which he paid two hundred and ninety pounds, and became known as a "Beef Butcher," who slaughtered and sold only the largest animals.

He was a great patron of prize or extraordinary cattle, the first of which we find noticed in the month of April, 1799, as "Two very extraordinary Beaves," with which he graced his stall;



and again, in 1805, he purchased a remarkably large pair of twin cattle, fattened by Hewlet Townsend, of Oyster Bay, which were slaughtered at Brooklyn, from which place he daily brought his meats in large row boats, direct across to the Fly-market.

At an early day, Seaman became much interested in the growth of the town; and being naturally gifted with a quick and active mind, he greatly assisted in the formation of a Fire Department and the establishment of better Ferry accommodations. He was elected a Trustee of the Town for the years 1810, '11, and '12; and he became also one of the Fire Engineers, which office he held several years.

After Seaman moved to the City of New York, he joined its Fire Department; became an Alderman, when that office was held by worthy men; and, afterwards, was sent to the Legislature, where, by his acts of firmness and independence in the discharge of his duties, he was complimented by a series of resolutions passed by a citizen's meeting, held in the Park, on the nineteenth day of May, 1824.

The synopsis of names of the historical period of the City of Brooklyn, presented to you this evening, illustrates the noble traits of character, the honest zeal, the highly moral and Christian attributes of good men and faithful citizens, who, by their distinguished examples largely aided in establishing the dignity of the now prosperous City of Brooklyn.

The people of Brooklyn have reason to be proud of these recorded names; and I am free to observe, that the old Fly-market of New York furnished from the ranks of professional Butchers, more men of worth—the names of but a small portion of whom I have here portrayed, in their relation and connection with old Brooklyn—than has ever been given to any community, by any similar institution in any other part of the civilized world. Why, I may be permitted to ask, why should not the memory of such men live, not only as offering a bright example of the simple honesty of our progenitors, as well as for the purpose of an illustration of the innate zeal, the honesty of purpose, so well established, in the discharge of the public duties and service for which the confidence of their fellow Townsmen selected or elected them?

So important were the position and the duties of the professional Butcher esteemed, in the early and middle periods of our history, that it was held paramount that he should exhibit evidence of good character, sobriety, professional ability, and practical skill; and these had to be certified or endorsed by two or more good men, as a security that he could and would fulfill all the duties of his craft, faithfully, in preparing and selling wholesome, healthy meats. In addition to this,

he was compelled to submit to a previous apprenticeship, under the supervision of an honest, reliable, skillful, established master Butcher. With these well-certified credentials he could then, and not till then, receive his diploma or license, to kill and sell in the public markets, such meats as were at all times, fit food for human beings.

But how is it now, amidst the modern science of political "Rings?" How are the affairs of the public managed, by scientific, political favoritism, in connection with public plundering? Now, all the safeguards of the public welfare are absolutely destroyed; and the time-honored principles of honesty and integrity—safeguards which protected the house-keeper in her marketing, and at the same time the character, position, and, as a public benefactor, the usefulness of the professional Butcher—these have been all destroyed by the Market Laws of 1843; and in place of these high-toned, intelligent men of integrity and respectability, we find these same Market Laws have engendered and brought forth in almost every nook and corner, of every filthy street, disgracing our cities, a class of men called *Butchers*, many of whom are the exact opposites of the men whose names and incomplete history afford our humble record.

Thanking you for your kind patience and attention to my paper, I now respectfully close.

### III.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONCLUDED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE LAS INDIAS," BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDEZ.

#### CHAPTER VI.

The following day, when Alonzo del Castillo had returned to where his companions, Cabeza de Vaca and Andres Dorentes, were awaiting him, they set out to meet the people whom the negro was conducting. These presented what they brought, their bows and arrows, blankets of cow-hide, the skins of deer, many gourds, and some beans, all which the Spaniards gave to those bringing them there, who went back contented. With these despoiled, their journey was destined to their houses, five or six leagues distant, by that river, where they planted; but little was got, considering the number of inhabitants, for the extent of soil was limited and very rough. They con-



ducted the Christians up that stream to a group, of four towns. There was little to eat, only beans, pumpkins, and a small quantity of maize. Possessing nothing in which to cook, the natives made gruel in a large gourd. Having kindled a fire, they put in many large, clean pebbles, and pouring water into the calabash, threw in the burning stones, causing the water to boil, then they added the flour of beans, and threw in other stones, until the pottage was done, when they ate it.

Here the Christians were told that there would be no more such food found until the end of thirty or forty days journey northward, whence the Indians brought the maize and beans, and the inhabitants whereof, until coming there, were in a state of destitution: that they ought rather to go northward by that river, nine or ten days in that time, finding nothing to eat, when they should cross the river, and marching toward the sunset the remaining distance, until coming where maize was plenty, which would also be found on the right hand, to the North; and that farther on, though all that country would be downward, towards the coast, as afterwards appeared, and though the way was much longer, the inhabitants were all their friends, speaking one tongue. This people had already presented many blankets of cowhide, among other articles; but which the Christians would gladly have exchanged for the rolls of Utrera, for they received nothing to eat, nor was there anything, except a matter the natives call Massarones, which were very bad, gathered from trees, and not fit for beasts, being eaten after they are ground with stones and then are all woody. The Spaniards lived upon bits of deer fat they carried on their backs. Few people were found on the way, and these stated that the others had gone to eat cattle, three days journey from there, on some plains between the mountains, and came down towards the sea, and they too, were going in that direction.

Thus did the Spaniards march along that river, upward, for fifteen days journey, without resting, because of the great need of food, and thence they went westward for more than twenty days longer to the maize, through a people somewhat in want, but not so like the others, for they eat the powder of weeds, and killed numbers of hare, of which the Christians ever had more than enough. On this travel, they rested at times, as they had been accustomed to do; and having arrived at the first houses, there was maize, which may be more than two hundred leagues from Culucan, (which was), where Nuno de Guzman was forming a settlement, was a town, and the Indians were peaceful, and there they received much of that grain, and parched flour, beans, and other seed, pumpkins, and the articles that were customary to give. These Indians had some small houses of earth, made with flat roofs

of tapia, the greater number were basket-work of palm.

In this manner, they marched more than eighty leagues, and in every two or three days time, they came to towns, resting a day or two at each. From these, many blankets, of cotton were given, which were good, bestowing everything, and among the rest, some turquois; all which, directly as they came to their hands, were again given. So many were the sick, that the attention to them was an affliction and a wearisome burthen; for the population was numerous, and the Christians had to rub and heal all. Those who were omitted believed that they must die, and people came from a circuit of ten and twelve leagues to bring their infirm, and followed on, a thousand or fifteen hundred persons, and at times over three thousand, until coming out in the plain nigh the coast, eight months after entering the mountains, where, until then, they had not issued.

On all the minds of those different people, the Christians imposed and impressed the idea that they should incline to heaven, and thither lift their eyes; and placing the hands together, kneeling when they were in any want, they should commend themselves to the Almighty. And thus they did, believing these men came from heaven, and were rejoiced when things was related to them of that place; but for the want of language it was not in their power to make this known as they would; had it been, from the confidence and love with which they listened and followed the Christians, the few errors and superstitions they possessed, it was the opinion that without doubt, they might have been made good Christians. So great was their sensibility that when these men took their departure, equally those wept who went on with them as those that were left. Some women with child, and others who had lately given birth, with infants in their arms, came to take their leave, giving the babes three or four grains of maize in their hands, that they might present them, believing thereby, if taken, they could never become old or have any ill.

The mountains having been passed as stated, the four Christians, who were the three men, and the negro Esteban, arrived at three small towns together, in which may have been as many as twenty houses, like the others, and close together, not here and there one, as in the peaceful country they afterwards saw. They were visited by people from the coast, twelve or fifteen leagues distant, as they were given to understand by signs, and to this town, or rather these towns, together, the Spaniards gave the name Villa de los Corazones, for there they were given more than six hundred hearts of deer, which had been split and dried. The men among all these people, from the houses where was the first corn, the men go naked, without covering any part of their persons; and



the women very modestly attired with mantles of deer-skin coming to the feet, with the skirt touching the ground somewhat behind, and open before, laced with skin cord. Beneath they wear, where that is open, a shawl of cotton, and over it another, with kerchiefs about the neck, entirely covering the bosom.

Those Indians said that northward, along all that coast of the South, (which can, and ought to be called North) were numerous people, much food, and much cotton; that the houses were large; they possessed many turquois, which were got from them through exchange; but they had no knowledge of any gold, nor had they heard of any ore. The Spaniards concluded from what they were there told, and from what they had seen before entering into the mountains, that the hawkbell and shawls of cotton that were given them, came from above, from that other sea and coast that have been spoken of, stated to be very populous and abundant in provision; and it likewise appeared to them that those little earth houses, and the fashion of the females in going so decently dressed, they took and learned from these; since from there to this place, and onward, were those houses and that dress, the distance of full three hundred leagues between them, and to a river discovered by Nuno de Guzman, and afterward not, the houses being made of palm and of straw, the women with shawls to the waist, and some, more delicate, to the knees.

Passing this town, they went thirty leagues to that river, where they received the welcome, accompanied by the Indians. The rain fell there for fifteen days, about Christmas, so they were obliged to stop. Though many people had come from a great distance, they remained, and never after left them.

There Castillo saw, worn as a jewel about the neck of an Indian, the small buckle of a girdle or band, and a rivet, which he took; the Indian being asked by the Christians what those things meant, he said, that men like them had been there with horses, lances, and swords; then he showed how they lanced and slew the Indians. The comers were recognized at once to be Christians; the three Spaniards and negro, even before their arrival, had, by signs, been told that an Indian was there, come from where were men out of vessels, to whom he would take them; and this was said many times. The natives were alarmed, and were not then understood; but afterwards it appeared, from what the Spaniards in Culucan said, that the Indian was one of several sick and fatigued men, whom those of Guzman there left behind.

From there, because of this news, the Christians began to move on with keen interest and delight: the natives were never tired of telling them about the Spaniards ahead, as a topic that gave pleasure.

The Christians would have controlled their emotions had they been able, dreading that on coming to that frontier, they should be turned upon with ridicule. From the place where the rain fell to where the Spaniards were, was a hundred leagues or more. From the town of Corazon to thither the journey lay continually along ten or twelve leagues distance from the coast. In some places food was found, but in others, so great was the scarcity, that the bark of trees was eaten, roots, and any casual vile thing. The inhabitants were become, in consequence, so thin and skinny, it was painful to see them. The famine was stated to be caused by the Christians who had thrice invaded the country, taking away the people and destroying the towns. The timid Indians were so alarmed, they would not leave the protection of the mountains, saving one here and there, covered with a mat, who took no repose, nor dared to plant. Nevertheless, for all these fears, they came out together to receive these few Christians, holding them to be sacred and divine things, men sent from heaven to conduct them. That little mat, customarily borne across the shoulders, and about under each armpit, and which is also the bed, they brought to present; so where the Spaniards looked for the greatest danger, it is remarkable they received the most consideration, and were most honored. In this manner they went to a town about forty leagues from Culucan, seated upon a steep rock, very high and craggy, for fear of the enemy, where the Christians were welcomed with great pleasure, and many persons were drawn together from all quarters to receive them. The next day, they sent messengers forward to other towns—distant three days journey—that the inhabitants might build houses and ranchos for the Christians, and the people come together to meet them; but the Indians, when they arrived, found no one, for Spaniards were going about making slaves, and then at night they were high and looked at them. The next day the messengers ranged about in the neighboring forests, and discovering no Indians, as these had gone far off, they came back and related what they had seen. They were so troubled and agitated they could hardly speak, and the rest were likewise so affected, and in such great fear, that many, taking their leave, went back. Those who remained there, these fortunate Christians told not to be alarmed that the Spaniards whom they dreaded they would make return to their homes, without doing injury, and be their friends. At hearing this, the inhabitants were delighted, and promised to obey: they had not dared to live in their houses, nor plant, and they were dying of hunger. Thus assured, they bore the Christians company, with the other Indians, coming from more than eighty leagues behind, who said they would never leave them.



Thus the Christians went on their way, and when they arrived at the town, no Spaniards were to be seen. They found their ranchos: two days were gone by since they had left. They resolved to go after them, and sent on word that they should wait or return to them. Cabeza de Vaca was at the pains to follow, taking with him the negro and a dozen Indians. The two Christians who remained sent out to seek the people dispersed among the forests, thickets, and bushes. The next day, more than three hundred souls, male and female, arrived, and reported that the following day more would come in, who had sped to a greater distance. Thus others were drawn out, who were scattered, more than four hundred of the absent being brought together, besides those who had come with the Christians.

The Treasurer followed all day until night on the track of the Spaniards; and the next day arrived where they were tarrying, seated on an eminence near a river. They numbered about twenty mounted men. For fifteen days they had not made a slave, nor seen a native, and knew not in what direction to turn. They were affrighted when the Christian came up to them, but far greater was the astonishment when he spoke. Having told them of the many countries through which he had passed, the many languages and people, they thanked God, our Lord, for making known to them this strange and very mysterious providence.

The hidalgos asked proof of the manner of their arrival, the bringing with them those natives peacefully, and the following them of their own free will. Such was given to bear faith and credence: the certificate was sent to Their Majesties. \* \* \* They remained there a day with that people.

As many days had passed since any one had been captured, and the horses having need of food, these wanderers were besought to send for some of the people who, of fear, were concealed about the woods. The messengers were directed, as had been customary along the march, and the next day six hundred persons came in, of both sexes, some of them women with children at the breast, bringing pots of maize, having the mouths closed with clay, and which they had concealed in the forests out of the way of the Spaniards. \* \* \*

We will return to the narrative of these hidalgos, which states that after the people who wandered about had been brought together by their command, they were asked by the Chief of the troop they had come upon, to tell them to occupy their towns, and work their fields as usual, for the Spaniards would do them no harm, nor give offence, their only wish being, when they should come by their residences, they would give them and their beasts subsistence. This they were given to understand, and permission was allowed them

to go with promise of security to their houses; but they did not wish to leave, nor be separated from the Christians, asking if they had not served well, and borne them company as they should have done. At last, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions told them to go in peace, as they were going where the master of the Christians was, whom they should ask that the Indians should not be persecuted nor annoyed. So the Indians departed in peace, and the Christians set out with three mounted men who accompanied them to the town of Culucan, built by Nuno de Guzman, on the western coast of the South Sea, full thirty-five leagues distant. The Captain, with the squad of men, went off towards the mountains to make slaves.

These Christians having arrived in safety, within eight leagues of the city, in an inhabited valley, the chief Alcalde of the place, Melchior Diaz, came out and received them kindly, giving thanks to God for the marvelous deeds he had worked through them. As there were many towns near, the people of which had not gone off to the mountains, the Christians sent two or three Indians lately made slaves, with a sign, with which to call together all the people who had left their dwellings, bidding them come in security, that they should receive no injury. The messengers went with that sign, a calabash, of which each Christian had been accustomed to carry one in his hand, and was gone five or six days, returning at the close with three lords, or principal Caciques, and fifteen or sixteen Indians. These brought with them beads, turquois, and very elegant featherwork, which they presented to the wandering Christians, before the chief Alcalde. Melchior Diaz caused them to be addressed, giving them to understand that these Christians came from the sky, and had traveled through many parts, teaching the inhabitants that they should look to heaven, where was the creator of all things, who gave glory to the good, that after death, those who had not well loved him, or believed in and served him, as their only Almighty God, he would give to the punishment of eternal fire. Those few Christians had come there to tell others that they should do no harm, nor offend, nor kill Indians, who must settle in their towns, believe in God, and erect churches, in which he might be served, putting up crosses in the towns which they also should bear, so that when any Spaniards should pass through their country, they should come out to them with a cross, before which all would bow, and none would offer injury, and thus all would be held to be brothers. They understood the speech well, said they would comply, and departed. Then they began to come down from the ridges, to inhabit, building churches, and raising crosses, as they were commanded. \* \* \*

These hidalgos, in giving relation of what this



history had recounted, have written that throughout all the country over which they traveled, they witnessed neither idolatry nor human sacrifices, nor was there any knowledge of such things, as far as Compostella, a town built and populated by the Governor, Nuno de Guzman.

#### IV.—JOSEPH BOWKER.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ. BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT WINDSOR, JULY 1ST AND 2D, 1863.

If we consult our published histories for a knowledge of the leading actors in the drama of Vermont's colonial and revolutionary struggles, we shall find none whose appearance is so weird and spectre-like, as that of the Honorable Joseph Bowker of Rutland. He glides before our vision, the incumbent of the most important official stations; he vanishes—and we seek in vain for the faintest vestige of his antecedents or subsequent destiny.

It seems as if he were like the mystic Melchisedec, without father, without mother, without genealogy; and like the divinely buried Moses, no mortal could tell the place of his burial.

Appleton's *New American Cyclopaedia* contains ample columns, descriptive of obscure Indian agents, worthless military officers, and insignificant politicians, but it does not even name him, who in a modified sense, was the John Hancock of Vermont.

As Bowker died seventy-nine years ago; as his only surviving heirs were two married daughters, whose descendants are said to be in the far West; as his official files in the County-clerk's office were probably burnt half a century since, with a mass of other papers, as useless lumber, there remains only brief documentary and oral evidence, from which to gather a few scanty facts, that, woven into far too beggarly a wreath, are brought as a votive offering on the altar of that American historic muse, who has, in our sister States, swept through fame's marble halls, with her garments all trailed in light, albeit, in our humble State, she has worn rather the lowly guise of crusading pilgrim, with palmer's staff, cockle shell, and sandal shoon.

An intelligent lady contemporary told me that Bowker was early left an orphan—brought up in the family of a Mr. Taintor, a prosperous farmer,—privately betrothed to his daughter Sarah, drafted into the army during the French war, in the garrison at Ticonderoga one or two years,—and returned with so good a reputation that hesoon became the son-in-law of his quasi guardian.

The time and place of his birth are as yet unknown. According to one who came to Rutland three years after Bowker's death—the late Honor-

able James D. Butler: no mean authority on any subject of which he ever spoke—Bowker came from Sudbury, Massachusetts, or near there; a section of country that has abounded in Bowkers and Taintors for nearly two centuries.

In October, 1773, we find Bowker in Rutland, with the title of Captain (military titles *then* were not prejudicial to one's reputation for capacity or integrity;) Moderator of a Proprietors' Meeting; one of the Committee to find the center of the town; Chairman of the Committee to inspect Proprietors' titles; &c., and, with his wife, becoming a member of the Congregational Church, then and there established.

He soon appears a general office-holder, for Town, County, and State; one of the Committee of Safety; a magistrate very generally sought, for the execution of conveyances, for the adjudication of legal rights, and for the trial of Tories; Town Treasurer; Selectman; Town Representative; member of the Governor's Council; on all Committees—financial, political, ecclesiastical or legislative;—member of the Board of War; Commissioner for the sequestration of Tories' estates; Judge of the Probate and County Courts; and Chief-judge of a special Court, appointed by the first Legislature.

About 1780, Bowker, Claghorn, Henry Strong, and John Smith built a saw mill about eighty rods from the main North and South road, on Handpole, Moon's, or Tuttle's Brook. A portion of his farm abounds in clay; and an inventory of his estate shows a note of three pounds, against John Forbes, for three thousand brick. Thus he seems ubiquitous, everywhere present, in all the political, legal, religious and business operations of society, sympathizing with and participating in all the efforts of the infant Colony, for defence, organization, and improvement.

The nature of some of his miscellaneous services for the public, will appear by extracting a few items from his account, viz;

#### "STATE OF VERMONT,

#### "To JOSEPH BOWKER. DR.

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| "Nov., 1777, to attending vendue       |       |
| "one day,                              | 6s    |
| "July, 1778, to attending vendue       |       |
| "one day,                              | 4s    |
| "To writing three leases,              | 3s    |
| "To one day in leasing Rockwell's      |       |
| "lot,                                  | 2s    |
| "To cash paid Gideon Cooley for        |       |
| "boarding and transporting the fami-   |       |
| "lies of Perry and Shorey to the lake, | £2 6s |
| "Sept., 1778, to cash paid to Daniel   |       |
| "Washburn for boarding the family of   |       |
| "Robert Perry 5 weeks,                 | £2 0s |
| "To journey of myself and horse to     |       |
| "Tinmouth and attending the trial of   |       |
| "John McNeal,                          | 9s    |



|  |            |
|--|------------|
| "Jan., 1780, to journey to Manchester of myself and horse, 38 miles, | 13s 4d     |
| "To 8 days service in drawing a lottery, at 7s per day,              | £2 9s      |
| "To two dollars paid to widow Weller, for house room and fire wood,  | 12s        |
| "To 6 bush, Indian corn for use of the State,                        | 18s        |
| "To journey to Sunderland to attend the Council, 42 miles,           | 13s        |
| "To one day's services,  | 7s         |
| "To one day of myself and horse to Castleton,                        | 9s         |
| "To 1 day weighing bread and forward provisions,                     | 4s         |
| "To 1 day of man and horse to transport provisions to Pittsford,     | 9s         |
| "To cash paid Nathan Pratt for transporting tory women to the Lake,  | £22 0s 2d  |
| "April, 1780, to paper to Captain Parnlee Allen,                     | £5 3s 2d." |

On the twentieth of October, 1779, he received from the State Treasurer, eight pounds and eight shillings, for "examining accounts of a committee "to build a Fort at Pittsford;" and on the twenty-second of February, 1781, six shillings "for examining a muster roll."

The following are significant:

### I.

"CLARENDON, Jan. 21 1778.

"Received of Joseph Smith, Commissioner of Sequestration, four pounds, one shilling and five pence, L. M., for my time setting with the Committee to try tories.

"JOSEPH BOWKER."

### II.

"IN COUNCIL, 25th Nov., 1777.

"CAPT. BOWKER.

"SIR: The confusion and multiplicity of business occasioned by the unhappy war in the northern department since the appointment of this Council, has prevented their being able to get the Constitution printed, which obliges us, this Council, to desire you to call together the old Convention, to meet at Windsor, on Wednesday, the 24th of December next, which you will not fail to do.

"I am, Sir,

"By order of Council,

"Your most ob servant,

"THOMAS CHITTENDEN, President."

### III.

"IN COUNCIL BENNINGTON, {  
"Feb. 17, 1778. }

"TO CAPT. JOSEPH BOWKER,

"SIR: Whereas, complaint is made to this Coun-

"cil, by Deacon John Burnap, that Moses Olmsted, "and ——— Owen of Pittsford, did, in December last, take from him about twelve hundred weight of iron, which is detained from him: he therefore desires this Council that they would direct him in what manner he may obtain his property again. Therefore, this Council recommend to call together the members of the several Committees in Rutland and the neighboring towns to the number of five, to judge and determine the case pending between the above parties, according to justice and equity.

"By order of Council,

"THOMAS CHITTENDEN, President,"

If the remuneration for the above named services seem paltry, we must remember the penury of the people, the exhaustive effects of the war, the scarcity of money—there being then only one bank in the nation and but little specie; State orders and individual notes being the chief circulating medium; also a custom prevalent among the public men of those days, as among the early invalid visitors to Clarendon Springs, namely, that of carrying their provisions in their portmanteaus and trunks, and therewith boarding themselves. Perhaps, also, the patriots of the Revolution hungered and thirsted after the public treasurer with less greed than the army contractors, *et id omne genus*, do now.

But the positions, in which Bowker is the best, or only known, to the general public, are that of President of those Conventions that asserted the State's independence and framed the first Constitution, and that of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Was it any honor to preside over such assemblages? What was the character of their members? We need not be told that the early settlers of Vermont were not Chevalier Bayards nor Sir Philip Sidneys in scholarly and courtier-like accomplishments. Chiefly tillers of the soil, only a very few among them possessed either wealth or professional culture. The Supreme Court had dispensed Law to the State almost a decade of years before the election of Nathaniel Chipman as Judge, the first lawyer ever on that bench. Yet, were not the people, generally, thoroughly educated as to their legal and political rights? Gage, the last British Governor of Massachusetts, wrote to the Home Government that every subject in his Province was a lawyer or a smatterer of Law. Edmund Burke, on the twenty-second of March, 1775, told the British House of Commons that the fierce spirit of liberty was stronger, and the supply of Law more general in America, than in any other country in the world; that he was informed by the bookseller that, after tracts of popular devotion, Law books were most eagerly sought for, by the



Americans; and that about as many copies of Blackstone's *Commentaries* on the English Laws were sold in these Colonies, with a population of two and a half millions, as in England with seven and a half millions of people.

If the four Colonies of New England were settled by some of the best blood of Old England, was not Vermont settled by some of the keenest intellects and strongest reasoners, as well as by the bravest soldiers, the best shots, and the best farmers of the seaboard Colonies?

Summon before you in dense array from memory's archives, the soldiers, statesmen, politicians, Governors, Judges and Executive officers, generally, that adorned Vermont's earlier history, and say, was it a slight compliment to be always called upon to preside over the solemn councils of such heroes? Why did not some of his talented and ambitious compeers at least once, achieve that honor? Does not his invariable election as presiding officer, bespeak him pre-eminently familiar with parliamentary usages, self possessed, courteous, impartial and quick of apprehension?

Let us turn our attention to his pursuits and tastes. In 1774 he bought one hundred and fifty acres of land and sold fifty acres. This was his only trading in Rutland lands; and thus, during the last ten years of his life, he owned and occupied one hundred acres of land. In his deed, he modestly styles himself a yeoman, while some of his brother farmers, in their deeds, call themselves gentlemen; yet at his death only thirty acres of land were improved—his official duties perhaps occupied more of his time than his farming.

When we see that the Treasurer of the State, on the twelfth of February, 1779, paid him twenty-four pounds bounty, for killing three wolves, we might infer him to have been somewhat of a Nimrod; but this is at least partially negated by turning to the inventory of his estate, where we find neither gun, pistol, nor sword.

He was such a general business man that we should naturally conclude he must have had library enough to post himself in all political, legal, financial and ecclesiastical affairs; yet we have no evidence that he died the possessor of a single volume.

There is oral, but no recorded, evidence that he was an officer of the Church; and he died as a Christian might wish to die—in the midst of a religious revival.

He built his house of plank when about all the other houses in town were of log, and added thereto a leanto or semi-veranda; yet his residence could scarcely have been palatial, for it was appraised at only forty pounds, just the appraisal of the saw-mill of which he owned one-quarter, while his barn was valued at twenty-eight pounds.

His style of housekeeping could not have been

very aristocratic, for all his household furniture was worth only about fifty dollars.

Admire the selection of his home in this wilderness. His farm, lying on the East side of Main-street road, extended one hundred rods South, from about Green-street, to and including a part of Handpole Brook; and a half mile East of said road, he located his dwelling, fronting towards the South, about half way down this noble slope of a pleasant hill (although now undervalued and desecrated by unfit tenements;) and there, during the last ten years of his life—ten years of highly useful and honorable exertion—with the mountain majesty of Killington on the East; Otter Creek on the West; and the deep forests everywhere, he saw a State rise out of political chaos; peace between the United States and Great Britain; courts and churches duly organized; and the foundations laid for a framed Court-house and Church, in the town which had most honored him, and had been most honored by him.

Prominent as Bowker was, why was he not, like his townsmen, Sylvanus Brown, John Smith, and Peleg Sunderland, denounced, out-lawed, and a price offered for his head by the Government of New York? As he was a modest, unassuming man, of few words, probably his tastes did not incline him to engage in those acts of forcible resistance to the belligerent and official Yorkers, then deemed such efficacious and medicinal remedies against oppression.

We know also that he was no land speculator; bought no land in Rutland, until 1774; and died seized of no real estate but his home farm, if we omit one right of land in Starksboro, and another in Medway or Mendon.

Bowker died between the tenth of April and the second of September, 1784.—There was no burial ground in Rutland then, except the one at Center Rutland; and some where in that public acre his remains were buried. The Reverend Jacob Wood, a revivalist, attended his funeral. The funeral procession had nearly completed its walk of two miles, when Mr. Wood suddenly leaped upon a stump, and turning towards the mourners and their friends, cried, "Hark! at the 'day of Judgment it will be an honor to be a 'Christain;'" then jumped down, and silently walked with the rest towards the grave yard.

We regret that the grave of Vermont's great Jurist, Nathaniel Chipman, is unhonored by any monument, obelisk, tablet or slab, yet that disgrace can be removed; but our regret is sadder, because unavailing, when we consider that the grave of the President of those Conventions that gave Vermont her political existence and form, is not only unhonored but literally unknown.

Notwithstanding the numerous and responsible offices held by Bowker, he died as almost honorably poor as Aristides—his whole estate being ap-



praised at about one thousand, seven hundred and fifty dollars, a very moderate competence, even in those frugal days. But whatever else he left, or failed to leave, the fragrance of a good name emblems his memory; tradition breathes not the slightest mist upon his fair fame.

Mrs. Mercy Smith, a member of the first family settled in town, declared him to be "one of the 'finest of men, and religious.'"

William McConnell, a neighbor, asserted that "he was the only man around here that knew 'any thing—Justice, Judge, Representative, Deacon, etc.'"

The late Henry Strong, another neighbor, said, "Joseph Bowker was one of the Committee of 'Safety; he was greatly looked up to for counsel, much esteemed for his great and excellent 'qualities, for many years the most considerable 'public man in town, and during the troubles of 'of the war and the negotiations with Canada, he 'was always resorted to, solely for counsel and 'advice.'"

The Reverend Doctor Heman Ball, who came to Rutland about twelve years after Bowker's death, leaves on record this casual testimony: "Judge Bowker, who was often mentioned to 'me in language of much respect."

Who does not wish that photography had been invented by Adam, and never since a lost art, that we, degenerate moderns, might gaze upon the features of the mighty dead of all ages? If we imagine Bowker standing before us, about five feet and seven inches in height, stoutly built, dressed in his favorite suit of blue,—blue coat, blue overcoat, blue vest, blue breeches, sometimes varied with cotton and linen breeches,—long stockings, silver buttons, silver stock buckle, silver bosom broach, silver knee buckles, and silver shoe buckles, we shall perhaps have the best likeness now attainable of "this fine old 'New England gentleman, all of the olden 'school."

#### V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

##### 82.—GENERAL MORGAN TO GOVERNOR HARRISON.\*

WINCHESTER 29th Feb 1784

SIR

When I was at Richmond last fall I spoke to your Excellency respecting a Saddle &c furnished me by Sam<sup>l</sup> Beal—You were kind enough to tell me it should be paid on the arrival of Capt Young, on which I request Mr Holmes a young gentleman to apply to Capt Young for the money

\* From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

and if he could not get it from him, to apply to your Excellency—Mr Beall writes me he is not paid and pushes me for the money which I have not to pay him or I would withal my heart, as Mr Beall advanced every shilling of it, and has lay out of it a long time.

I beg sir you interest yourself so far in this matter that Mr. Beall will get his money which I shall esteem a favour done me as well as pure justice done Mr. Beall

I have the Honor to be

Your obed<sup>t</sup> Hbl Servt

DAN<sup>L</sup> MORGAN

[Addressed.]

His Excellency

BENJ<sup>N</sup> HARRISON

Governor of Virga

##### 83.—MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO COLONEL AARON STOCKHOLM.\*

Col. STOCKHOLM.

WASHINGTON CITY, JAN<sup>y</sup> 1 1803,

SIR,

Before I left home I wrote to you on the subject of Highlander<sup>y</sup> the English Mares, & Colts, to which I have rec no answer. Perhaps the Letter miscarried. Since that time I have sold & sent off Harlots' two colts, & if I had known your mind on the subject, would have endeavoured to have sold Rachels' also.

I shall be very glad to learn from you whether you suppose Highlander would do well in your Quarter, & on what terms you would take him the ensuing season. I wish to know whether Fair Rachel is in foal, & what is the prospect respecting her two colts. A line from you will oblige

Your most Obedt Servt

BENJ<sup>N</sup> TALLMADGE.

[Addressed.]

FREE,

B. TALLMADGE.

Col. AARON STOCKHOLM,

Hopewell, near

Fishkill,

State of N. York.

##### 84.—SAMUEL MATHER TO HIS SON.†

BOSTON, May 8th 1760

SAMUEL, MY SON, MY DEAR SON,

Yesterday I sent you a small chain of letters by your Brother Thomas. When he shall arrive, I

\* From the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of George Drinley, Esq., Hartford Conn.



think you will do well to carry it in the most tender and obliging manner towards Each other for this will be Your mutual honour and Comfort,

Thro' the great goodness of God towards us, our Family is all well. Your Aunt Welsteed who had been ill for a long time when I wrote unto you last now seems to be on the mending hand. Your Cousin *Nabby Prout*, who has bro't forth a little boy called *John* after her Father is now sitting up for visitors.

May 10th, Mortality still takes its Course among the Younger as well as the Elder. Yesterday in the Forenoon died *Mrs. Betsy Jarvis* the Colonels' agreeable daughter. It is said she was to be married in the Fall to Young *Dumaresque* who is with the Colonel her Father. But she fell into a Consumption which in about three months carried her off. Your Mama and I are invited to attend the funeral of this faded flower.

May 13, There was a very large meeting to chuse Representatives; and as Messieurs *Ting* and *Prat* had voted for the going of the Province Ship to fetch the Money in England and carry the Gouverneur home, the Towne were so disgusted at them as to drop them, and by a very great majority chose Parson *Wells* and Deacon *Phillips* in their Room.

May 16th. Yesterday the Gouverneur held a Council; when he informed them that he should not tarry here until the Election. And as our new Governour's (Govr Bernard's) commission is not yet come, it seems probable that the North End will be favoured with the great Show at Election. \* \* \* \*

Your most loving Parent  
S. MATHER.

To Mr. SAMUEL MATHER  
Commissary at Fort Edward.

85.—MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN TO GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.\*

BROWNVILLE Jan'y: 1 1815.

SIR

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies Letter of the 25th Ultimo. enclosing the Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York approving my conduct and that of the Officers and Soldiers of the gallant Army of Niagara—Every Officer and every man entitled to participate in the honor conferred will hold in great estimation the approbation of the Representatives of this enlightened and highminded State.

I do not know how to express my sense of the obligation I feel under to your Excellency for the very favourable manner in which you have been

pleased to notice my conduct. As I am proud of the approbation of those I esteem, so I shall always hold in high estimation the good opinion of your Excellency, and I will endeavour so to demean myself as to merit the continuance of your regard.

I pray you Sir, to accept the assurance of the very great respect and consideration with which I have the honor to remain your Excellencies

Most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JACOB BROWN.

His Excellency  
DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

86.—ROBERT MORRIS TO BARON STEUBEN.\*

PHILA Jan'y 29th 1785.

SIR,

Before Colo Humphreys departed for Europe I took with him the arrangements for procuring The Swords & Medals which had been ordered by Congress for various deserving Officers who by their Conduct had drawn the particular attention of their Sovereign, and as I gave a Credit on the Public Banker to defray the Cost, it may be expected that the Colo will not delay the Execution of a business which must prove agreeable to many of his Friends & acquaintance. I wish you may soon have the pleasure of receiving a Sword to your liking, & remain very Sincerely Dr Sir

Your obedient hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

ROBT MORRIS.

The Honble

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Baron STEUBEN  
at or near  
New York.

87.—JAMES BUCHANAN TO F. BYRDSALL.†

WHEATLAND, NEAR LANCASTER,

4 November 1852

MY DEAR SIR

Absence from home on political excursions has alone prevented me from sooner acknowledging your favour of 21 ultimo. And first, I desire to extend to Mr Clover & yourself a cordial invitation to pay me a visit such as you propose—You shall have a most hearty welcome—I shall be necessarily absent during the whole of the next week; but after that I expect to be at home for several weeks. Still you had better drop me a line two or three days before you start so as to render it certain that we shall meet—

What a Waterloo defeat the Whigs have sustained! Laus Deo! And thus ends the race of

\* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

\* From the original belonging to the Editor.



Presidential candidates from the regular army : "A consummation devoutly to be wished". Whether our success will put down the Slavery agitation is a question, I fear, still in doubt. The Whigs may re-appear in the Northern States as regular free Soilers : this would be a worse aspect than they have heretofore assumed—

from your friend

very respectfully

JAMES BUCHANAN

Mr. F. BYRDSALL

## VI.—THE BATTLE OF COW-PENS.

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL,  
OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

[The following traditionary account of that battle was prepared by a gentleman who has often heard the facts given stated by those who had been eye-witnesses and actors in what they described. The account, as we have given it, is almost entirely in the words of the person above mentioned, who collected and arranged what he had heard reported among his friends and acquaintances, concerning that battle, which in its issue, gave a favorable turn to the American cause. And permit me to say that to the same gentleman, the public have been indebted for many facts of interest, before communicated. And if all those, who belong, in like manner, to the past, rather than to the present generation, would record what they knew on such matters, either personally or by tradition, they would deserve well of the present and of future generations. The writer does not profess to give a full account of the battle, but probably some things will be found in it, that the common histories do not contain. It will be remembered that General Cornwallis was at Winnboro', just before this action; General Greene at Cheraw, seventy miles North-east; and General Morgan some fifty miles North-west of Cornwallis, who marched up between the Catawba and Broad Rivers, to cut him off.]

At your request, I will now proceed to give you all the intelligence within my knowledge, relating to the battle of the Cow-pens. I am not able to inform you where Morgan was, immediately preceding the battle, but he was near enough to the British Head-quarters to draw the attention of the British officers. Colonel Tarleton requested Lord Cornwallis to place one thousand of the Infantry regulars at his command, [he had two field pieces, and in all, about one thousand, one hundred men], and he would, in three days, bring in General Morgan and army, prisoners of war. His request was granted, and the necessary preparations made. Colonel Tarleton, on taking leave, desired his lordship to put off dinner the third day till three o'clock, and General Morgan should be his guest at table : thus he left the camp. General Morgan got notice of the march of Tarleton and of the force under his command, and thought himself in danger of being attacked by a superior force. He commenced a retreat as fast as circumstances would admit, at the same time sending an express to General Greene's Head-quarters for Lee's body of horsemen, intending when joined by that to give battle.

The express reached a body of militia in some

part of Mecklenburg, himself and horse both exhausted. The officer of the day asked for a mounted volunteer to ride express to Head-quarters. Daniel Lewis, from Iredell, offered his services, was accepted, and soon on the road at half speed.

Mr. Lewis says as he passed on, every countenance was cast down ; and the people were filled with gloomy fears and doubts for the safety of Morgan. But as he returned, all was joy and gladness: the battle was fought and the victory gained the very day he arrived at the camp of Greene.

Morgan continued his retreat, but finding that he had no alternative but to burn all his heavy baggage and fly to the mountains, or give battle with the force he had, as he thought himself pursued more like a criminal or an object of sport than a generous-hearted soldier retreating before a superior force, he became somewhat ruffled with his enemy, and preferred to give battle though at such odds ; the British being to his men, as five to four, and the cavalry as three to one ; and besides, two-thirds of Morgan's men were raw militia.

On arriving at the Cow-pens, the evening before the battle, he called a Council of War. And for the purpose of learning the sentiments of his army, so far as possible, he summoned all the commissioned officers to attend. When the Council met, he opened the deliberations by stating the circumstances in which they were placed ; and then enquired if they would burn their hard-earned bacon and flour and fly across the mountains, or would stand by and defend it. Colonel Washington replied, "No burning, no flying : but face "about and give battle to the enemy, and acquit "ourselves like men in defence of their baggage, "their lives, and the interests of the Country."

This sentiment prevailed in the Council generally : but little time was spent in deliberating ; all returned to their respective duties. General Morgan gave orders to his soldiers to examine their arms, ammunition, etc., and to have every thing in the best order they could for action, while he proceeded with the field officers to view the ground they intended to occupy ; in the mean time he sent a small party of mounted infantry to spy out the situation of the enemy. After every thing was done that could be arranged that evening he retired to rest. After a short nap of refreshing sleep, he rose some hours before day and made further arrangements for action. He spared no pains to inspire his men with true courage which alone would secure them the victory.

In arranging the line of battle, he placed his experienced riflemen (in whom he had great confidence from services rendered on former occasions) in the most favorable situation for their fire to have full effect. It would appear from



what followed that Colonel Washington, as well as he, was of the opinion that their courage was all that could save them from destruction. Intending to fight in close order, sword in hand, he gave orders that no pistol was to be fired that day. While the officers were employed in forming the line, the scouts sent out the evening before returned about the dawn of day, with intelligence that the enemy was within a short distance of the camp and rapidly advancing. The American line already formed, waited with firmness the approach of the enemy, which soon appeared in sight; and a little after, the firing commenced. This was done by the North Carolina Militia; but a part of them having arrived only the evening before and never been in action till now, they were soon thrown into confusion, and retreated in disorder. The other North Carolina and the Virginia troops kept their position and continued firing.

When the battle became more general, the regulars commenced firing, and Morgan's trained riflemen followed; and, to use the words of an eye witness, "it seemed to me that every ball had effect." This unexpected reception stopped the onward course of the whole British army. The eagle eye of Colonel Washington observed this check in their motion; and he seized it as the most favorable moment to make a desperate charge by which he threw Tarleton's cavalry into confusion. In the mean time, Morgan discovered that the Militia that retreated at the first fire in disorder were now forming in the rear; and he rode up to them, and with a cheerful countenance called out, "Form my brave boys! Form! one 'round more and the day is yours." The party was soon formed, and immediately returned to the battle and commenced its fire again and performed considerable service. The whole army was now brought to bear on the enemy with a constant and well directed fire. The embarrassment common among soldiers at the beginning of an action, and particularly raw militia, had now passed off. Many riflemen among the militia, as well as Morgan's body of riflemen, could throw a rifle-ball within a hand's breadth of where they intended.

The army had now taken its stand, and was determined on victory or death. Its well-directed fire caused the enemy to fall at a fearful rate. When Colonel Washington formed for a second charge, Colonel Tarleton became alarmed for his personal safety; and fearing that his retreat would be cut off, he fled, followed by a few of his horsemen. Colonel Washington, thinking it a favorable time to free the country from their fears of the bloody Tarleton, and that he was a fit object for a full display of his courage, pursued him, regardless of his own life or the danger he was in. He outrode all his men and

came up with Tarleton and two dragoons at his side; and attacking him, he struck with his whole strength at his head: the blow, however, fell short and cut off his cue. Making another thrust, he wounded two of Tarleton's fingers, by his sword passing through the guard of Tarleton's.

One of the dragoons now, with his drawn sword, being about to give him the fatal blow, was shot down by one of Washington's men, who rode up at that moment and broke the order of the morning by shooting down the dragoon with his pistol. This gave Tarleton the start; and Washington seeing that the object of his pursuit was out of his reach, returned. The fortune of the day did not long hang doubtful. Tarleton and some of the Cavalry having fled, the remainder dispersed in confusion. Washington had cut off a retreat; and the infantry falling at a most fearful rate, the British gave up all hopes of victory. Some sought safety in flight, and were shot down in the attempt to escape. Some concealed themselves among the bushes and were made prisoners after the battle was over. But the principal part of them laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. The firing ceased, and was followed by the shout of victory. The whole American army, at the highest pitch of their voices shouted; "Huzza! Huzza! Huzza for brave America!"

Thus was fought and ended the battle of the Cowpens. The whole British army, with the exception of a few horsemen who fled with Tarleton, was killed or taken prisoners. The number of killed was never officially known. The tradition, ever since the time, has been that there were over six hundred killed: and we once heard it affirmed by a man of undisputed character, John Andrew, who was present in the action, that there were about as many prisoners.

Colonel Tarleton not only failed to have his guest at dinner but failed to be present himself at the appointed time. This caused Cornwallis much uneasiness; having a view of the road for a long distance, he kept a close watch for him. At length, he saw him coming in sight with a small party of six or eight horsemen; and after a little, another, and then a third party, riding very fast and disorderly. He then became enraged and turned from the sight, exclaiming "I'll venture my life Tarleton has let that old wagoner defeat him." Much mortified he prepared to pursue, and revenge on Morgan so signal a disgrace to the British arms and recover the prisoners, but he did not succeed.

This defeat caused Colonel Tarleton more unpleasant feelings than anything else during the whole of the Revolution.

The following anecdote is often told of him: Being one evening at a tea-party with some South Carolina ladies, who were better Whigs than their



husbands, the conversation being about Colonel Washington, they spoke very highly of him. At this Tarleton was offended, and expressed his surprise that the American people thought so much of Colonel Washington who was an ignorant man, and could scarcely write his own name. A lady replied: "That may be the case, but no man can better testify that he knows how to make his mark, than yourself": alluding to the loss of his fingers. Either at this or at another time, he expressed a desire to see Colonel Washington, when one of the ladies coolly replied that if he had looked behind him after the battle of the Cow-pens he could have had that pleasure.

General Morgan was a youth of the laboring class, and followed driving a wagon till he entered the army in Braddock's campaign as a private soldier: during his service here, for some misdemeanor, he was sentenced by a Court-martial to receive five hundred lashes.

At the end of that war, he returned to his former business of driving a wagon, till called into the army of the Revolution, as an officer; and was in most of the important battles that preceded the taking of General Burgoyne. His great worth as a soldier was the cause of his rising to the rank of General; and in the Northern campaign, he was connected with a regiment of Riflemen, regulars, who were always distinguished for their coolness in danger and close shooting. On this regiment he very much depended for success at the battle of the Cow-pens.

During his retreat after that battle, he would often joke with his captive officers; and among other things would allude to the sentence passed on him in Braddock's war, telling them the King owed him one stripe, as the drummer who counted made a mistake, and he only got four hundred and ninety-nine lashes instead of five hundred. In speaking among his friends, afterwards, of his military life, he remarked that some said General Morgan was never afraid; but that he had been often filled with fear. Some said that General Morgan never prayed, but that he often did, and referred to the morning of this Battle when he prayed most earnestly.

The following is a portion of a song that was often sung in the country here, after the battle:

"Our brave General Morgan rose before it was day;  
"And placed all his men in battle array,  
"His scouts they returned before it was light,  
"With tidings that Tarleton was almost in sight.

"Our riflemen shot down the British so fast,  
"They put them to confusion and caused them at last,  
"To throw down their muskets and set off to run,  
"And curse the contrivance of the twisted gun.

"Six hundred and thirty, the number there slain,  
"Besides what were taken captive on the plain;  
"You'd laugh to see red coats trying to hide  
"Behind bushes and tree, no matter which side."

We may add a few things here on this subject.

It is known that though we cannot boast of battle fields, yet the armies of Greene, of Morgan, and of Cornwallis hasted through Iredell. The masterly address of Morgan, *flying from his victory* at the Cow-pens, with his body of five hundred Highland prisoners, is justly celebrated.

At that time, there was living in the vicinity of the battle ground, in Rutherford County, a man by the name of David Miller, a relative of the Morrison family in Iredell. Before removing to this country, he had been acquainted with Tarleton, who hearing of him, came to his home just before the battle, and urged him to join the Royal Standard. This he decidedly refused to do. But Tarleton took him along with him to the camp; and though he took no part in the engagement, he was with the rest taken prisoner. This may be considered as providentially favorable to Morgan; for Miller was an intelligent man, and well acquainted with the country through which he must pass to cross the Catawba, with his prisoners. Accordingly, Miller accompanied the victorious army through Rutherford and Lincoln, where the people were mostly inimical to the cause of Liberty, until they came into a more friendly region, in Iredell, at Morrison's Mill, about five miles above Statesville. There has been some dispute about the ford at which they crossed the Catawba. But it is obvious that Morgan would cross as high up as possible to avoid Cornwallis who was marching up on that side to intercept him. He would want to get into a more friendly region as soon as possible, for forage and provisions.

Some histories imply that he crossed at the same place where the British afterwards crossed; some asserted that he crossed at Sherrill's Ford. And it is certain that they were encamped there some two or three days on the East side; and General Morgan had his quarters at the house of widow Olyphant. The night they encamped there, twelve wounded men were taken to a house in the vicinity (Palls') where one died and was buried that night. And when the encampment broke up, they passed there on their way to Salisbury, the same morning that the British forced a passage below.

General Greene, who came across the country from Cheraw, with a small detachment of his army, met Morgan at this Camp, and threw himself between the prisoner and the army of Cornwallis. But either the whole army, or a detachment with the prisoners, crossed at the Island Ford. This is the general tradition in this part of the country. Some say they arrived at the Ford late in the evening, and crossed the West branch of the River that night, which they spent on the Island. They passed the house of a widow McKay, near Sterling church, in Iredell, who had come from Scotland in 1772, and who recognized



among the prisoners some of her old neighbors. These prisoners endeavored to retard the march of Morgan, and were very refractory, in order to give the British time to come and overtake, and retake them. But Morgan made short work with them and forced them forward with the point of the bayonet. There was an old man recently living who has not lost yet all his feeling on the subject, that remarked about a year ago that "they drove the prisoners like brute beasts."

They arrived at Morrison's Mill, so often mentioned, not exceeding eight or ten miles from the Ford, to dinner. Some of Colonel Washington's Light-horse were from that vicinity—Judge Edward Harris was one; many of the Militia, too were from this region. From there, it is supposed, they crossed Third creek at the "Hickory Bridge," and so on to the place of encampment, where General Greene came to Morgan's aid.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that when General Davidson fell at Cowans Ford,\* Dr. James Hall was present and endeavored to rally the militia again and stand their ground, but in vain. Major Thomas Morrison, of Iredell, then a Captain, said that at the time General Davidson fell, he was marching up the River with his men; and fearing that the British would cross, and flank, and enclose him between them and the River, contrary to orders, he took the responsibility of diverging from the River. General Davidson met him, and approved of his conduct, and galloped off, towards the River, saying that he would return in a few moments, but before he was out of sight, fell dead from his horse.

So Major Morrison was the last person General Davidson spoke to before he fell.

The history of those two field pieces taken by Morgan at the Cow-pens is a little singular. They were taken from Burgoyne, at Saratoga; retaken by the British, at Gates' defeat at Camden, now, they came into the possession of the Americans and were used by them in the Battle at Guilford Court-house, where the British took them; then the Americans retook them; but in a little time, lost them again; and they remained with the British at its close.

The following anecdote may be worth preserving to show the enthusiasm that prevailed at that time in the cause of Independence, even among children. As the British passed on through Salisbury, after Greene, the officers were entertained at the house of Doctor Anthony Newnan. Here, in the presence of Tarleton and the company, two of Doctor N's. little sons were playing on the floor,

the game of the Battle of Cow-pens, with grains of corn, having kernels of different color or size for the officers on the respective sides, and especially Washington and Tarleton. When one pursued and drove the other as in the real battle, the little fellows shouted "Hurra for Washington!" "Tarleton runs, Hurra for Washington." The British Colonel looked on for a while; but at length becoming irritated, he exclaimed, "See those cursed little rebels!"

## VII.—FIRST SIGNALS USED BY THE AMERICAN FLEET.

ST. GEORGE'S ENSIGN; RATTLESNAKE STANDARD; ETC.

By CAPTAIN GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U.S.N.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed signals of the American Fleet, in 1776, from being the first regular signals used by it of which there is any record, are curious and interesting.

You will observe that one of these signals is a "striped St. George's Ensign," which I suppose to be the same as the "Grand Union Striped flag"—the stripes alone distinguishing it from an English red ensign of that period,—which was raised in Washington's Camp at Cambridge, six months earlier. A drawing of it, made in the summer of the same year, and the only cotemporary drawing known, found by Mr. Lossing among General Schuyler's papers, represents it flying from the main-mast-head of the Schooner *Royal Savage*. The Stars, in place of the Union of St. George's and St. Andrew's Crosses, were not substituted until nearly a year after the Declaration of Independence.

The "Standard" mentioned as another signal, I suppose to have been the yellow Rattle-snake Standard which Colonel Gadsden, one of the Marine Committee, presented to Congress on the eight of February, 1776, to be used by the Commander-in-chief of the American Navy.

These suppositions of mine are supported by a writer in the *London Ladies Magazine*, under date, "May 13, 1776;" who says "The Colors of the American Fleet were striped under the Union, with thirteen stripes; and their Standard a rattle-snake—Motto 'DON'T TREAD ON ME.'"

What the *Striped Jack* was is not so clear; but I have a photograph from an engraving of "Commodore Hopkins, Commander-in-chief of the American Fleet. Published as the Law directs, August, 1790, by Thos. Hart," on the background of which, at his right hand, on a Jack Staff, is a plain, striped flag, without Union; but undulating diagonally across the stripes, is a rattle-snake; and underneath it, the motto "DON'T TREAD ON ME." At his left hand is a white

\* The GENERAL DAVIDSON who fell at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba, in 1781, is the one after whom Davidson College is named. The Sword worn by him on that occasion was presented to the Board of Trustees, last July, (1866) and they directed a suitable inscription to be engraved upon it.



Pine-tree ensign, with the Legend, *over* the device, "LIBERTY TREE," and *underneath* it, the Motto, "APPEAL TO HEAVEN." This old Massachusetts ensign may have been the white flag so often used in the signals, as probably at that early day all the Continental vessels had it.

G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

ORDERS GIVEN THE SEVERAL CAPTAINS IN THE FLEET, AT SAILING FROM THE CAPE, AT DELAWARE, FEBRUARY 17, 1776.\*

SIR: You are hereby ordered to keep company with me, if possible, and truly observe the signals given by the ship I am in, but in case you should be separated in a gale of wind or otherwise, you then are to use all possible means to join the fleet as soon as possible; but if you cannot, in four days after you leave the fleet, you are to make the best of your way to the southern part of *Abacco*, (one of the *Bahama* Islands,) and there wait for the fleet fourteen days. But if the fleet does not join you in that time, you are to cruise in such places as you think will most annoy the enemy. And you are to send into port, for trial, all British vessels, or property, or other vessels, with any supplies for the Ministerial forces, who you may make yourself master of, to such places as you may think best, within the United Colonies. In case you are in any very great danger of being taken, you are to destroy these orders and your signals.†

EZECK HOPKINS, *Commandant-in-chief*.

\* This paper was used by General Force in his invaluable *American Archives*. (IV., IV., 1179.)

† SIGNALS FOR THE AMERICAN FLEET BY DAY.

*For sailing*: Loose the foretopsail, and sheet it home.

*For weighing and coming to sail*: Loose all the topsails, and sheet them home.

*For the fleet to anchor*: Clew up the maintopsail, and hoist a weft in the ensign.

*For seeing a strange vessel*: Hoist the ensign, and lower and hoist it as many times as you see vessels, allowing two minutes between each time.

*For chasing*: For the whole fleet to chase, a red pendant at the foretopmast head.

*To give over the chase*: A white pendant at the foretopmast head.

*For the COLUMBUS to chase*: Strike the broad pendant half-mast, to be answered by a weft in the ensign and making sail. *To chase to windward*—hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leeward*, not. *To give over the chase*: a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time. This may serve for any of the vessels to give over the chase and return into the fleet.

*For the ANDREW DORIA to chase*: A Dutch flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward*: hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leeward*, not. *To give over the chase*: a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time.

*For the CABOT to chase*: A white flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the PROVIDENCE to chase*: A St. GEORGE'S ENSIGN with STRIPES at the mizen-peak. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

## VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM THE McHENRY PAPERS.

[The following autograph letters were contributed by J. Howard McHenry, Esq., to a Fair held, several years ago, in aid of the Maryland Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, to be placed on exhibition during the continuance of the Fair, and afterwards sold for the benefit of that Institution. The letters were all in the hand-writing of their respective authors, and unquestionably genuine.]

### 1.—THOMAS PAINE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

YORK TOWN, June 5th, 1778.

SIR,—

As a general opinion prevails that the Enemy will quit Philadelphia, I take the Liberty of transmitting you my reasons why it is probable they will not. In your difficult and distinguished situation every hint may be useful.

I put the immediate cause of their evacuation to be a declaration of war in Europe, made by them or against them: in which case their Army would be wanted for other service, and likewise because their present situation would be too unsafe, being subject to be blocked up by France, and attacked by you and her jointly. Britain will avoid a war with France if she can, which, according to my arrangement of Politics, she may easily do. She must see the necessity of acknowledging, some time or other, the Independence of America; if she is wise enough to make that acknowledgement *now*, she of consequence admits the Right of France to the quiet enjoyment of

*For the FLY to chase*: A Dutch flag at the maintopmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the HORNET to chase*: A red pendant at the mizen-topmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the WASP to chase*: A Dutch flag at the mizen peak. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For a general attack, or the whole fleet to engage*: THE STANDARD at the maintopmast head, with the STRIPED JACK and ensign at their proper places.

*To disengage and form into a squadron*: A white flag at the ensign staff, and the same into a weft for every vessel to make the best of their way off from the enemy for their own preservation.

*For all the Captains to come on board the Commodore*: A red pendant at the ensign staff.

*To speak with the COLUMBUS*: A white pendant at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the ANDREW DORIA*: A Dutch flag at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the CABOT*: A weft in a Jack, at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the PROVIDENCE*: A white flag, at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the FLY*: A Dutch flag at the Ensign staff. *For any vessel in the fleet that wants to speak with the Commodore*: A weft in the ensign; and if in distress, accompanied with two guns.

*To fall into a line abreast*: A red pendant at the mizen peak.

*To fall into a line ahead*: A white pendant at the mizen peak.

*For meeting, after a separation*: A weft in an ensign, at the maintopmast head, to be answered with the same, and cluing up the maintopgallant sail, if they have any set.

*For the ship PROVIDENCE to chase*: A red pendant at the mizen-topmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as before.

*To speak with the ship PROVIDENCE*: A weft in the ensign at the ensign staff.



her Treaty, and therefore no war can take place upon the Ground of having concluded a Treaty with revolted British subjects.

This being admitted, their apprehensions of being doubly attacked, or of being wanted elsewhere, cease of consequence; and they will then endeavor to hold all they can, that they may have something to restore in lieu of something else which they will demand; as I know of no Instance where conquered Places were surrendered up prior to, but only in consequence of a Treaty of Peace.

You will observe, Sir, that my reasoning is founded on the supposition of their being reasonable Beings, which if they are not, then they are not within the compass of my system.

I am, Sir,  
with every wish for your happiness,  
Your affectionate and ob't humble Servant.  
THOMAS PAINE.

His Excellency GEN'L WASHINGTON.

[Addressed.]  
His Excellency  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
VALLEY FORGE.

2.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec'r 10th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—

After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into the peaceable possession of their Capital, I set out for this place. On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow traveling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private Citizen.

I am y'r  
Affect'e  
Go WASHINGTON.

3.—DOCTOR RUSH TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 3d, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

Captain Darby is now in this city upon parole. He has heard with great pleasure of a general exchange of prisoners about to take place. But as his business in New York is of the most pressing nature, he humbly solicits (thro' your connection with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) that he may be indulged with liberty of going into New York upon parole before he is exchanged. The affairs of the regiment to which he is paymaster are in the greatest confusion.

Most of his books and papers were lost at Stoney Point. Every day's delay increases the distress and difficulties to which that misfortune has exposed him. In New York he expects to meet with some people who can extricate him from some of his difficulties, provided he can get access to them soon. He begs his most respectful comp'ts may be presented to his Excellency, and as wishes not to be troublesome to the General (whose time he knows is precious) he begs to receive his answer to this request thro' you before he returns from this city to Lancaster, which will be in about ten days.

Excuse this additional trouble I have given you, and believe me to be, with the tenderest sentiments of friendship,

Yours—yours—yours,  
BENJ'N RUSH.

[Addressed.]

DR. MC HENRY, (public service.)  
Secretary to his  
Excellency,  
GEN'L WASHINGTON,  
Head Quarters.

4.—THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—

Mr. Morris, our Minister at Paris, has recommended to me a Madame de la Mariniere, whom the troubles of St. Domingo have driven to Baltimore. He did it at the request of the Duke de Penthièvre. Want of acquaintance myself in Baltimore leaves me no means of complying with their request to procure her introduction into the best company, but to solicit your attentions to the lady. The characters who interest themselves for her are a security to us that our services will be worthily bestowed, and will I hope excuse the liberty I take in commending her to you. I am with esteem,

Dear Sir,  
Your most obedient  
and most humble serv't,  
THOMAS JEFFERSON

DOCT. McHENRY.

[Addressed.] TH. JEFFERSON.  
DOCT'R JAMES McHENRY,  
BALTIMORE.

5.—SAMUEL CHASE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BALTIMORE, 24 Sep'r, 1796.

DEAR SIR,—

Our Electors have given us [illegible] Senators [illegible] Mr. Chesley, of Calvert, outvoted R. Smith. I am grieved for the president's de-



clining to serve, but after Reading his Reasons it is impossible to not to approve his conduct. I am greatly pleased with his advice, but fear it will not be followed. I expect a great Contest about his Successor. Mr. Carroll has offered to be an Elector, but if opposed here he will not be elected. I shall certainly vote for him, which he will not expect.

I beg your Care of the enclosed, and I wish you Health and Happiness, I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate  
and ob't Servant

[Addressed.]

SAMUEL CHASE.

The Honorable

JAMES McHENRY,

Secretary at War,

PHILADELPHIA.

6.—GENERAL WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 Feb'y, 1796.

SIR,—

In obedience to your request I have made out and now enclose an estimate of the number of troops necessary to take possession of and garrison the Forts to be evacuated agreeably to the late treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain; as also the number of cannon now mounted at the respective posts, viz., Michillimackinac, Detroit, Miami and Niagara—the three first are from actual documents, the latter I am not perfectly acquainted with, but know that it was garrisoned by the 5th British Regiment.

The number of troops fit for duty at Greenville on the 1st of December, 1795, was 1,158—of these, not more than 1,000 can be calculated upon to advance for the purpose of possessing the several posts before mentioned, which will be rather too few to give a proper impression, and to transport and give security to the provisions, artillery and stores, which will be indispensibly necessary to accompany them. The following are the artillery of different calibres that can possibly be spared from the advanced posts, i. e., from Fort Washington to Defiance, inclusive, viz. :

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| One eight inch Howitz,                 | } Total, 26. |
| Four, five and one-half do,            |              |
| Six [ ? ] pounders,                    |              |
| Seven three pounders,                  |              |
| Eight 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch Howitz. |              |

Hence, you will see the indispensable necessity of giving orders for the ordnance and stores mentioned in the enclosed estimate.

I will have the honor of calling at the War Office at two o'clock to-morrow, when I shall be

ready to afford any further information you may think proper to require.

Interim, I have the honor to be,

Sir,

your most obed't  
and very

humble servant,  
ANT'Y WAYNE.

The Honorable

J. McHENRY, Esq.,

Secret'y of War,

7.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

DEAR SIR,—

I will thank you to examine the inclosed, and let me have them to-morrow morning, as I wish, if approved, to send the letter to Mr. Howell by to-morrow's post. Mr. Wolcott has seen and approved.

Yours respectfully,  
T. PICKERING.

Aug't 3, '96

SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Addressed.]

SECRETARY OF WAR.

8.—CHARLES CARROLL TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

1796, Dec'r 2d, ANNAPOLIS.

DEAR SIR,—

As you may not have seen the answer of our Assembly to the Governor's Address, I inclose the one printed in Green's paper.

Notwithstanding the Pen'a ticket is gone in favor of Jefferson, those who pretend to have good information say that Adams will be elected by a majority of six votes. I rather think the probability is that no election of President will be made by the electors, as probably several of the electors may not be able to attend at the seats of Gov't, many of them being at a great distance from those seats, sickness and badness of the roads may prevent their attendance.

We are anxious here to know what notice, if any, our Gov't will take of Adet's last note, assigning reasons for your suspension of his functions. I am with great respect,

Dear Sir, y'r most hum. Ser't,

CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

[Addressed.]

H'ble JAMES McHENRY, Esq.,

Secretary at War,

p. post.

PHILADELPHIA.



# 9.—GENERAL HAMILTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR,—

This will probably be handed you by Mrs. De Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville, of Holland, a Gentlemen who embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country as far as general considerations will admit relief, and she has a particular claim upon every body's good will, that of being a distressed and amiable woman. I ask for her your patronage and good offices. Adieu, my Dear Friend,

Y<sup>rs</sup> truly,  
A. HAMILTON.  
Jan. 19, 1797.

J. MCHENRY, Esq., &c.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQUIRE  
&c.

War Office,  
PHILADELPHIA.

# 10.—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT WASHINGTON, May 12, 1797.

SIR,—

In conformity to the "Rules and Regulations" relative to Maritime and Frontier Posts or Fortified Places," issued from the War Office on the twenty-eighth of March last past, I have the honor to report—that a certain person of the name of Hamilton, who is said to have a major's commission in the service of Spain, arrived in the town of Cincinnati some time in the month of January last, and has remained, (excepting a short absence of a few weeks,) ever since. His avowed object is to prevail on the citizens of this territory to become settlers in the Spanish country west of the Mississippi, offering to adventurers donations of land and other inducements. Hamilton was born in New Jersey, and was some time a merchant in New York, from whence, after being tried for a forgery, he emigrated to Dumfries, in Virginia, where he resided until about a year ago; for a few months previous to his arrival here he was in Kentucky, where, I believe, he obtained authority to offer lands on the Mississippi to such persons as were inclinable to transfer their allegiance from the United States to His Catholic Majesty. Many families have emigrated, and many more are preparing to go the ensuing fall from this country, in consequence of the liberal offers made them by the Spanish agents.

Hamilton has avowed himself a Spanish subject to several persons in this town, but I do not believe that he has any commission in their service; but is, I imagine, authorized by the Spanish consul or some other agent in Kentucky to grant lands to persons who wish to emigrate to Louisiana. I shall use every exertion to get information of the views of this man and every other suspicious character who may come within my reach.

I have Honor to be  
with very great Respect,  
Sir, your Humble Serv't,  
WM. H. HARRISON,  
Lieut. 1st Regiment,  
Commanding.

The Honorable  
JAMES MCHENRY,  
Secretary of War.

[Addressed.]

To the Hon'ble  
JAMES MCHENRY, Esq., *Free.*  
Secretary of War,  
PHILADELPHIA.

P. Post.]

# 11.—RUFUS KING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

LOND., Aug. 4, 1797.

DEAR SIR,—

Be so obliging as to forward the inclosed Letter to Mr. Hemsley. I think his name is William, and that he lives in the neighborhood of Baltimore. He would have come with me as my secretary, but my brother accompanied me in that character, having returned here, I shall be pleased to receive Mr. Hemsley in his place. The inclosed Letter proposes to him to come to me.

I don't know when I shall be able to send you the medals. Mr. Trumbull promises to prepare the Devices soon. Bollen is ready to receive and execute them.

Very truly your ob't servant,

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq. RUFUS KING.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary of War,  
PHILADELPHIA.

# 12.—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

ROTTERDAM, Sept. 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR,—

By this opportunity (the Adelaide, Capt. Mann, via Baltimore) I send you the militia regulations during the time of the French Republic; they were to have been sent above three months ago, but by some mistake were postponed.

Briguet's Military Code is out of print; I am informed a new Edition is preparing, which, when



published, I will procure and send to you, with any thing I may meet with new, and of reputation in that style.

General Marshall and myself are now upon our progress to Paris; you will hear by my letters and inclosed papers to the Secretary of State and Mr. Murray's communications to you of the extraordinary transactions at Paris: these transactions and some intimations that we have received, that our presence, at this juncture, at Paris might be important, and the delay of our journey imputed to very false and improper motives, have induced General Marshall and myself to set out for Paris; more particularly, as Mr. Prince, the Agent of the Union, the vessel in which Mr. Gerry is to sail from Boston, writes word to the Consul at Rotterdam that she is to call at Havre. I have therefore written to that port to request Mr. Gerry to proceed from thence to Paris, without coming round by Holland. We shall not commence any direct negotiations before we are joined by Mr. Gerry, without circumstances should indicate great probable advantages. These I do not expect, for so much reliance is placed in France in the internal divisions in America, and so large a party is thought to be more attached to French measures than to the interests of our country, that tho' I am convinced this opinion is erroneous, yet as it is entertained by men in power, I am apprehensive our negotiations will be very difficult, and my hopes of success are not at all sanguine.

I remain, my dear Sir, with regard and esteem,  
your most ob't  
humble Servant,  
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

[Postmarked.] BALT., NOV. 10, FREE;

[Addressed.]

COLONEL MCHENRY  
Secretary at War,  
PHILADELPHIA.

13.—GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY TO THE  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S. }  
Monday, Dec. 11, 1797. }

SIR,—

I am desired by the Committee of the House of Representatives to whom was referred the Remonstrance and Petition of the State of Tennessee, to request the favor of you to give them such information as you can, with propriety, concerning the subject matter of that Petition, which information the Committee think may assist them in forming their opinion whether any and what relief can be given with propriety by the Legislature.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,  
your most ob't Servant,  
THOMAS PINCKNEY.

14.—THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO THE  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

GEO. TOWN, May 28, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

Unqualified, as I really think myself, I have after a thousand struggles, accepted my honorable, and at this crisis, important appointment. Who that has the feelings of an American, could refuse to try at least to serve his country at such a time? I put in thus early my claim on your Friendship for all the assistance I shall need, and it will be a great deal. I mean to set out for Philadelphia as early as possible. I hope a week's delay will not be thought long, and I hope I shall not find it necessary to bestow more than a week on my private affairs. I go at first without my family, who are to follow, or to wait till the Fall, as I shall determine after getting to Philadelphia. You did not write me a word about your wishes as to my acceptance or refusal—make up for the deficiency by writing me on the receipt of this, and, if possible, flatter me into a belief that I may be able to avoid merited reproach. One letter may reach me before I leave this.

I am, Dear Sir,  
with great esteem,  
y'r Serv.,  
BEN STODDERT.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.  
War Office,  
PHILADELPHIA,

15.—GENERAL HAMILTON TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I think I heretofore mentioned to you that to avoid the chance of difficulty with the President, I had written or would write to him urging the appointment of Mr. Philip Church to a Captaincy. I have just received a very obliging letter from him, and in which he assures me of his willingness to appoint him to that grade, and that he would write to you accordingly. Thus is all difficulty on this point removed. In proportion as I look to the event of my laying down my military character, is my solicitude that this young gentleman shall be eligibly placed.

Yours affectionately,  
A. HAMILTON.

J. MCHENRY, ESQ.

[Addressed.]  
JAMES MCHENRY,  
&c., &c.,  
Trenton.



## 16.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

MOUNT VERNON, July 30, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

The writer of the enclosed letter, in name and character, is an entire stranger to me,—nor do I know whether, by the Law establishing the Cavalry, any provision is made under which such a person could be employed, tho' certain is, if Mr. Macharg understands what he professes to be master of, he might be employed very advantageously in training that part of our force.

I have wrote him to this effect:—adding, that as he is a stranger, his application to the War Office must be accompanied by ample testimonies, not only of his skill in the business he professes, but to his character in all other respects, with which, and my letter to him, he would come properly before you, and without which I conceived it would be useless to apply. I am, Dear Sir, your ob't.,

Go WASHINGTON.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Outside address, in Washington's hand,]

THE SECRETARY OF WAR  
PHILADELPHIA.

## 17.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Private.] MOUNT VERNON, 2d Aug't, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

Finding that I was not altogether correct, in giving the uniform of the Company of *Grey-heads* in the Town of Alexandria, I amend, as soon as possible, the mistake, by transmitting the letter of the Capt'n thereof—Col. Simms—to Mrs. Washington.

Have you received my letter of the 22d of July? The enquiry then made respecting the Quarter-Master-General is of serious and interesting moment to me. If the business, which my own appointment has involved me in, increases—or even continues—I shall soon be under the necessity of calling upon that officer, or you, for a supply of stationary:—on you particularly for copying Paper; who, better than he, will know, or can direct the proper sort. I thought I came home well provided with these articles, but shall soon run short.

Yours affectionately,  
Go WASHINGTON.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.

[The foregoing bears the Alexandria post-mark, and is addressed in Washington's hand:]

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary of War,  
Philadelphia.

## 18.—JOHN ADAMS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

QUINCY, September 21st, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

I rec'd last night your favour of the 1st with its Inclosures, and perceive nothing to alter.

Inclosed is a letter from Samuel Treat, who has been a Lieutenant at the Castle a long time. His claims to a continuance in service I hope will be considered; but I know nothing of him but his appearance on a late visit to me and the inclosed letter.

JAMES ADAMS.

JAMES MCHENRY,  
Secretary of War.

## 19.—JOHN ADAMS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

QUINCY, July 27, 1799.

SIR,—

I have rec'd your favour of the 20th and have no objection to the plan you propose of raising a Company of Cavalry.—“Our means”! I never think of our means without shuddering! All the Declamations, as well as Demonstrations, of Trenchard & Gordon, Bolingbroke, Bernard & Walpole, Hume, Burgh & Burke, rush upon my Memory and frighten me out of my wits? The System of Debts and Taxes, is leveling all Governments in Europe. We have a career to run, to be sure, and some time to pass before we arrive at the European crisis. But we must ultimately go the same way. There is no practicable or imaginable expedient to escape it that I can conceive.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

J. ADAMS.

## 20.—ROBERT G. HARPER TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BALTIMORE, August 16th, 1799.

A young man of So. Carolina, My Dear Sir, a Mr. Memereau Walker, of Laurens County, in that State, has requested me to apply for a commission for him in the permanent army of the U. S., which I now do. I know him to be a clever fellow, active, of a good education for that part of the country, the son of a very respectable man, and in general very well qualified for a commission in the infantry service. You will oblige me by recollecting his application should there be any vacancy in the standing regiments. He would like the artillery well, for which he has capacity enough to qualify himself very soon; though I do not know that he has attended, as yet, to that study.

As we are on the subject of Military Appointments, I will mention, that should Col. Watts' place be yet unsupplied, and I might be permitted to take the appointment on the terms allowed to



Dayton, I should prefer that to any other regimental commission.

Yours sincerely,  
ROB. G. HARPER.

The Hon'ble  
The Secretary at War.

[Addressed]

The Hon'ble  
THE SECRETARY AT WAR,  
Philadelphia.

21.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

[Private.] MOUNT VERNON, 25th June, 1799.]

DEAR SIR,—

By transmitting General Hamilton's letter to me of the 15th instant, respecting the expediency of promoting General Wilkinson to the Rank of Major-General in the armies of the United States, and my reply thereto of the present date, I find it the easiest mode of communicating the ideas of both of us on this subject; and the necessity of enlarging thereon is superceded thereby.

I have only to pray that both may be returned to—

Dear Sir,

Your affect'e H'ble Servant,  
Go WASHINGTON.

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.,  
Secretary at War.

22.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF  
WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 28, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your enquiry relative to the salary of my chief clerk, I inform you, that his stated allowance is fifteen hundred dollars a year. But he is also (as was his predecessor) translator of the French and Spanish languages, for which he receives a compensation of three hundred and fifty dollars a year—doing this business out of office hours. His capacity, diligence and fidelity well entitle him to these rewards.

I am very respectfully,

Dr. Sir,

Your ob't Serv't,  
T. PICKERING.

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.,  
Secretary at War.

23.—CHARLES LEE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 25th November, 1799.

SIR—

I have considered the question proposed in your letter of the 23d, and am respectfully of opinion

that the act passed the 5th June, 1794, entitled "An Act in addition to the Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," is now in force and will continue in force till the end of the next session of Congress. The expressions "from thence to the end of the next session of Congress," mean the next *whole* session and not any part of a session. A similar question was propounded some time ago from another quarter, when I gave the like answer that I now do.

The rule that penal laws are to be strictly construed, does not operate on the present question, which does not arise upon the meaning to be put on the *penal words* of a statute, but on the meaning to be put on the words of one statute *continuing* another in operation.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,  
CHARLES LEE.

To the Secretary at War.

[Addressed]

TO JAMES MCHENRY, ESQUIRE,  
Secretary at War.

24.—GENERAL LA FAYETTE TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

LA GRANGE DEPARTEMENT DE SEINE  
ET MARNE, 7th March, 1800.

MY DEAR MCHENRY—

While you Receive, as a Secretary at War, an application from Mde. de Fleury, widow to the Gallant officer whose services in America Have Been so justly celebrated, permit a private friend to express those personal good wishes which a sense of duty to a deceased Brother Soldier, affectionate American Remembrances, and sincere concern for the lady's welfare prompt me to form in her behalf. Your countryman, C'nel Smith, Has on an important occasion witnessed Fleury's spirit and talents—the part He acted under G'ral Wayne Has been consecrated by a medal—there is indeed no General officer or soldier but who might Have a glorious account to give of him in every action where he has fought. His widow has imparted me her intention to address the government of the United States previous to which she is about consulting the Commissioners now in Paris; and as she thinks a letter from me to my intimate friend, the Secretary at War, may be with him a proper introduction, I write the more readily as Besides my own Regard for the memory of General Fleury I know he is himself a partaker in these sentiments.

Very affectionately I am, dear MCHENRY

Yours,

LAFAYETTE.



Had not the world been deprived of His Greatest Ornament, Mde. de Fleury would Have found in our beloved General the patronage which from him was equally Honorable and efficacious.

[On fourth page in hand-writing of Lafayette:]  
Private.

The H<sup>b</sup>le JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary at War,  
Philadelphia.

25.—OLIVER WOLCOTT TO JAMES MCHENRY.

WASHINGTON, Dec'r 12, 1800.

DR. SIR,—

I will attend to your requests as soon as possible & there will be no longer any difficulty. Gen'l Pinckney informs that the Electors appointed in So. Carolina will all vote both for Jefferson & Burr—eight votes were given for each of them in North Carolina & both are unquestionably elected. So much for the consequences of diplomatic skill.

I am Dr. Sir yrs.

OLIV. WOLCOTT.

JAS. MCHENRY, Esq.

[Addressed,]

The Hon'ble

Free JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.

OLIV. WOLCOTT. Baltimore.

26.—WILLIAM PINKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

LONDON, 20th March, 1800.

MY DR. SIR—

I have had the pleasure to receive a Line from you by Mr. Sitgreaves, and thank you for giving me a sort of claim by it to his friendship. It shall be my care to cultivate it. I am much obliged by your enclosing me your excellent Report to the President on the subject of our Military system. Of any thing contained in it, except its general principles, I am a very poor judge; but, so far as an attentive reading of it can authorize me to have any opinion, I should think the arrangements you propose will, if adopted, be beneficial to a very important Extent. The Manner in which your Details are given must have the Merit of perspicuity, for even I, who am as little of a military Man as it is well possible to be, believe that I perfectly understand them. Your introductory Remarks, and those of a similar Nature to be found in different parts of the Report, are capable of being properly estimated by every Man of understanding—and of their Force & Solidity there can be no doubt. I wish most cordially that they may produce their just Effect, and that the country may be indebted to your labors for the security you aim at giving to it.

I w'd ask you to drop me a Line now & then, when you shall have Leisure. It has been stated to me that you devote yourself to the Duties of your office beyond a due Regard to your Health—and I will not desire to put upon you the additional Burthen of writing to me. And yet, if at any Time a vacant moment sh'd occur in which it might be Relaxation rather than Fatigue to tell a sincere Friend that you continue to think of him, I cannot avoid saying that you will gratify me much by so employing it.

I am, My Dr. Sir,

Very faithfully yrs.

WM. PINKNEY.

P.S. My Brother Comm'r Gore will have }  
told you every thing I can have to com- }  
municate before this can reach you.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,

Secretary at War

of the United States,

Philadelphia.

27.—GENERAL LA FAYETTE TO JAMES MCHENRY.

19th THERMIDOR, 6th August, 1805.

MY DEAR MCHENRY,—

I am sure you will Heartily welcome Mr. David Parish, to whose father and to whom I have been, during my captivity and ever since, under the Highest obligations. Mr. John Parish was the American Consul at Hamburgh when my wife and daughters arrived from France to endeavor to partake in my Olmutz prison and treatment—they and myself Have found in the whole family the most affectionate concern in our behalf, the most generous and constant assistance. My friend David is going to visit America. I am Happy to make Him acquainted with you and am with all my Heart and for ever

Your affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

[Addressed.]

Mr. JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,

Baltimore.

28.—MAJOR TALLMADGE TO MR. MCHENRY.

WASHINGTON, March 10th 1812.

DEAR SIR,—

I have rec'd your Letter of the 10th instant, and now inclose the *Sheets* which were intended for you before.

I intend also to forward the late Message of the President and Documents accompanying the same. I have no time to make any comments upon this most extraordinary Communication. If the election of Gov'r Gerry and P't Madison must cost the U. S. \$50,000, they ought to serve the public



with great fidelity. I presume, by this time, you will understand the object for despatching the *Wasp*. In haste, I am

Yours, very sincerely,  
BEN'N TALLMADGE.

[Addressed.]

The Hon'ble JAMES McHENRY, } Free.  
B. TALLMADGE.  
Baltimore.

## IX.—CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF PATRICK HENRY.

COMMENTS UPON MR. JEFFERSON'S LETTER.\*

CHARLOTTE COURTHOUSE, VA.,  
November 22, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE RICHMOND DISPATCH.

DEAR SIR,—Some days after its appearance, my attention was called to an article in your paper of the twenty-fifth of July last, copied from the *Philadelphia Age*, which purported to be a manuscript of Thomas Jefferson containing reminiscences of Patrick Henry. The article contained statements derogatory to the reputation of Mr. Henry, in whose vindication I feel it my duty to publish this reply.

Although the manuscript contains many misstatements of fact, it is doubtless from the pen of Mr. Jefferson, and is evidently the communication furnished Mr. Wirt while he was preparing the life of Henry—as I notice that author, when referring to Mr. Jefferson as authority, quotes in many instances the very words of the article you published, and in other portions of his work seems to be combatting the charges therein made by Mr. Jefferson. Taking the manuscript, then, to be genuine, I can only account for its existence by remembering that it was penned at a period of Mr. Jefferson's life when the heat engendered by party strife had fixed in his mind distorted views of his political opponents.

The statement that Mr. Henry first came into public notice as a Burgess about the year 1762 is incorrect. He was elected for the first time in May, 1765, and during that month made the attack spoken of upon the proposition for a public loan office. (WIRT'S *Sketches of Henry*, 61, et seq.) During the same month, the famous Resolutions against the Stamp Act were offered by Mr. Henry and passed by the House. Mr. Jefferson states that these Resolutions were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer from the Northern Neck, who seconded them. In reply to this, I need only refer to the statement of Mr. Wirt, (*Page 74*.) that Mr. Henry left amongst his private papers, in his own

handwriting, a copy of these Resolutions, with an endorsement stating the circumstances under which they were offered, in which endorsement he says: "That alone, unadvised and unassisted, "on a blank leaf of an old law book, I wrote the "within." This paper was found sealed up and directed to his Executors, and comes to us as his dying declaration. It is still in existence at Red Hill.

Mr. Jefferson was at the time a student at William and Mary, and heard the debate; but his statement as to who wrote the Resolutions cannot be weighed a moment against the solemn declaration of Mr. Henry. Nor can I credit Mr. Jefferson when he says that Mr. Henry was a very inefficient member of deliberative bodies in ordinary business, and had not accuracy enough of idea in his head to draw a bill on the most simple subject which would bear legal criticism. He was very frequently placed upon important Committees. One of these was the standing Committee of Correspondence between the Colonies, appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, on the twelfth of March, 1773, which was selected from the best material in the Colony, and which led eventually to a Colonial Congress. We have also the testimony of a very able contemporary as to this matter. George Mason, in a letter to Mr. Cockburn, dated Williamsburg, the twenty-sixth of May, 1774, (*Virginia Historical Register*, January, 1850, *Page 28*.) writes: "What ever resolves and measures are intended for the "preservation of our Rights and Liberties, will be "reserved for the conclusion of the Session. "Matters of this sort here are conducted and "prepared with a great deal of privacy, and by "very few members, of whom Patrick Henry is "the principal. \* \* \* He is by far the most "powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he "says not only engages, but commands, the attention; and your passions are no longer your own "when he addresses them. But his eloquence is "the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my "opinion, the first man upon this Continent, as "well in abilities as public virtues; and had he "lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic "War, when the Roman people had arrived at "their meridian glory, and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him "at the head of that glorious Commonwealth."

Mr. Jefferson informs us that after his service as Governor, succeeding Mr. Henry, he had no further personal knowledge of him. And yet his most serious charges as to personal conduct refer to subsequent periods. It will be remembered also that Mr. Jefferson never met with him until Mr. Henry was twenty-four years of age.

That Mr. Henry commenced life in very straitened circumstances, is without doubt; but that he ever acted as a bar-keeper, is denied by Mr.

\* This letter may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August.



Wirt, (*Page 37*,) who obtained his information from the companions of Mr. Henry's youth.

I am entirely satisfied, also, that Mr. Jefferson has misrepresented Mr. Henry's attainments and conduct as a lawyer. He represents him as too lazy to acquire or practice law, never undertaking to draw pleadings if he could avoid it, engaging very unwillingly, but as an assistant, to speak in the cause, making the fee an indispensable preliminary, keeping no accounts, requiring large fees for his services, insatiable in money, and doing so little business in the General Court, other than criminal, that it would not pay the expenses of his attendance. I have in my possession Mr. Henry's Fee-books, commencing in the latter part of 1760, when he first came to the bar, and coming down to 1771, more than one year after he came to the General Court. Sixteen pages of these books have been cut out and lost; but estimating that the fees charged upon them average in numbers with those upon the remaining pages, and I find that Mr. Henry charged fees in one thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five suits, from September, 1760, the commencement of his practice, to the thirty-first of December, 1763, besides many fees for preparing papers out of Court. In November, 1763, he was employed in, and in December following he argued, the celebrated Parsons' cause, which gave him so great a reputation. Afterwards, his business increased rapidly, of which, however, only a small portion was criminal, the great bulk being the ordinary suits of the country, plain actions of debt, etc. In these, it is preposterous to suppose he appeared only as an assistant, to speak. So far from his being insatiable, his books show the usual moderate charges of the day, such as have been long since discarded by the profession; and many of his fees appear never to have been collected. Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson*, (i., 47,) gives the number of causes in which he (Jefferson) was employed in the earlier years of his practice, as evidence of his great success; but judging Mr. Henry by the same rule, his success was much greater before he had made what is usually represented as his first speech. How he acquired or retained a practice so large, and continually increasing, so perfectly unfit for it as Mr. Jefferson represents him, I am at a loss to understand.

Nor can I reconcile with Mr. Jefferson's statement another fact, mentioned by Mr. Wirt and by Mr. Randall: I mean the public advertisement of Robert C. Nicholas, after he was made Treasurer, committing his unfinished business to Mr. Henry. Mr. Nicholas was one of the examiners who signed Mr. Henry's license, and enjoyed the first practice of the bar, according to Mr. Wirt; and Mr. Randall thinks (*Life of Jefferson*, i., 49), that he committed his practice to Mr. Henry upon the advice of Mr. Jefferson.

The insinuation that Mr. Henry paid for the Leatherwood lands purchased of Mr. Lomax in a discreditable manner—discreditable, as is alleged, because of the depreciated money used in payment—is entirely unjust. The interest of Mr. Lomax was a subject of litigation; and the sworn answer of Mr. Henry in the case is before me, together with the answer of his widow in a suit brought to divide Mr. Henry's estate, after his death. By these papers it appears that the purchase was made in 1778, for paper money; and that Mr. Henry sold other lands of equal value in order to pay the purchase money. At the time of the purchase, paper money had depreciated so as to be worth only one-fifth of specie, and that it would further depreciate must have been apparent to all. I find two receipts given by Mr. Lomax, one for five half johannes at forty-six shillings each, dated the thirtieth of May, 1778; and the other for five hundred pounds, cash, dated October, 1778, showing that a large portion of the purchase money was paid during the year of the purchase, and at times when the depreciation of the currency had increased but little. What were the dates of the deferred payments I have not ascertained; but whatever they may have been, no stigma can attach to Mr. Henry for paying for land in the very currency he had contracted to pay and which he was receiving for lands sold by him to meet the purchase.

Mr. Jefferson has endeavored to connect the name of Mr. Henry with the infamous Yazoo speculation. He asserts that about the close of the war, Mr. Henry engaged in this speculation, and bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at two shillings and two shillings and six pence in the pound to pay for it; that the Georgia Legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent and void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing, but that Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and raised his paper from two shillings and six pence to twenty-seven shillings and six pence the pound. The facts are simply as follows:

On the seventh of February, 1795, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act selling to four Companies, viz.: the Georgia, the Georgia and Mississippi, the Upper Mississippi, and the Tennessee—about forty million acres of land for the sum of five hundred thousand dollars. These companies paid the money and obtained deeds to the land. It soon became known, however, that the Legislature had been bribed; and the succeeding Legislature, on the thirtieth of January, 1796, declared the grant fraudulent and void. (*GARLAND'S Randolph*, i., 66; and *TUCKER'S History of the United States*, ii., 187.) This transaction became infamous, and was known as the Yazoo speculation:



and it is with this that Mr. Jefferson evidently intended to connect Mr. Henry.

I find from Mr. Henry's private papers that late in the year 1789, he, with Judge Paul Carrington, Joel Watkins, Francis Watkins, and some half dozen other gentlemen—all of high character—entered into a co-partnership, which they called the Virginia Yazoo Company, having for their object the purchase of Georgia lands. In 1789, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act to sell to the South Carolina, the Virginia Yazoo, and the Tennessee Companies, a portion of her territory. But refusing to take Georgia certificates in payment, and requiring specie instead, the Companies could not pay for the land, and their rights were afterwards declared forfeited. (TUCKER'S *History of the United States*, ii., 187.) No improper conduct can be charged on the Virginia Yazoo Company in this transaction. They paid no money and got no land.

I find from a letter from Francis Watkins, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Company, addressed to Mr. Henry, on the seventh of March, 1795, that Mr. Scott, the Agent of the Company in attendance on the Georgia Legislature, had failed to obtain a new grant, while other Companies had obtained the lands. Mr. Watkins advised a dissolution of the Company forthwith. I have never seen the slightest evidence that Mr. Henry was connected with any other Company, nor am I aware that this was ever charged. In further exculpation of the Virginia Company, I would add, that John Randolph, in the United States Congress, in 1805, assailed with great bitterness the Yazoo speculation and the persons connected with it; yet, in 1820, upon the death of Colonel Joel Watkins, one of the Virginia Company, Mr. Randolph, long his intimate friend, in writing his obituary, says: "Under the guidance of old-fashioned honesty and practical good sense he accumulated an ample fortune, in which it is firmly believed by all who knew him there was 'not a dirty shilling.'"

The only paper which the Act of Georgia declaring fraudulent and void the Yazoo speculation could have affected, was the certificates of debt of the State of Georgia held by the Companies interested for the purpose of meeting their purchase. And when Mr. Jefferson wrote, he had evidently in his mind that portion of the system urged by Hamilton, whereby the United States assumed the debts of the several States, Georgia among the rest.

The funding and assumption Act was approved on the fourth of August, 1790, (*Laws of the United States*, i., 162,) and gave a considerable value immediately to the paper affected by it. (RANDALL'S *Life of Jefferson*, i., 606.) Now, it could not have been possible, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, that the Act of Georgia, which passed in

1796, depreciated the paper held by Mr. Henry to two shillings and six pence, when the system of Hamilton had been in operation for six years, and had given a greater value to that paper from its commencement; nor could the Act of Congress of 1790 have come most opportunely to Mr. Henry's relief, in 1796, and raised his paper depreciated by the Act of Georgia of that year. The desire to impute a discreditable motive to Mr. Henry has evidently resulted in confounding dates; and the Act of Georgia in 1796 is put prior to Hamilton's funding system of 1790.

Mr. Jefferson proceeds to state that Mr. Henry continued hostile to the Federal Constitution after its adoption, and expressed more than any other man his thorough contempt and hatred of General Washington; and that from being the most violent of all anti-Federalists, he was brought over to the new Constitution by the effect of Hamilton's funding system on the depreciated paper he owned; that Hamilton became now his idol; and, abandoning the Republican advocates of the Constitution, the Federal Government on Federal principles became his creed.

I have a number of letters written by Mr. Henry after the adoption of the Constitution, among them letters to Richard Henry Lee while a member of the first United States Senate from Virginia, with whom he was on the most intimate terms, and whose election he had secured over Mr. Madison as the opposing candidate. I find no contempt, hatred, nor even unkind feeling, expressed anywhere towards General Washington. Mr. Henry's conduct towards General Washington during his whole life is at variance with the statement; and I cannot believe it, resting upon the evidence of but a single witness, who informs us he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Henry at the time. On the contrary, I find that Chief-justice Marshall, who had opportunities of seeing Mr. Henry during this period, states (*Life of Washington*, v., Note xiii.) that Mr. Henry was truly the personal friend of General Washington. To the same effect is the testimony of Mr. A. Blair, Secretary of the Council of Virginia. (SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, xi, Appendix xviii.) He writes to General Washington on the nineteenth of June, 1799: "I had the honor to 'qualify for my present office when Mr. Henry 'commenced the administration of our Revolutionary Government. From that period to the 'day of his death I have been on the most intimate, and I believe friendly, terms with him. \* \* \* With regard to you, Sir, I may say, as 'he said of Marshall, that he loved you, and for 'the same reason, because you felt and acted as a 'Republican—as an American.'"

Mr. Henry's independence of character was too great to permit him ever to make an idol of Hamilton or of any other man. If he could have



been induced to idolize Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Jefferson's reminiscences doubtless would have assumed a different hue. So far from permitting the financial system of Hamilton to change his politics, one of the last acts of Mr. Henry's public life was a protest against the very feature of that system which, if Mr. Jefferson is to be believed, put money into Mr. Henry's pocket and made him a political apostate.

In the Virginia Assembly of 1790, the last in which Mr. Henry sat, on the third of November, the following Resolution was adopted by the House of Delegates :

"RESOLVED, That so much of the Act of Congress entitled, An Act making provision for the 'debt of the United States' as assumes the payment of this State debts, is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, as it goes to the exercise of a power not expressly granted to the General Government."

On the vote adopting this Resolution, Mr. Henry's name is with the Ayes. (Vide *Journal of the House of Delegates for 1790*, 35, 36.)

That Mr. Henry opposed the adoption of the Constitution in its unamended form is true; but that he continued hostile to it afterwards is not true, if he himself is to be believed. Amongst his papers there is a copy, in his own hand, of his reply to General Washington, when offered the position of Secretary of State. It is dated the seventeenth of October, 1795; and after giving his reasons for declining the appointment, which are of a private nature, it continues :

"Believe me, Sir, I have bid adieu to the distinction of Federal and anti-Federal ever since the commencement of the present Government, and in the circle of my friends have often expressed my fears of disunion amongst the States from collision of interest, but especially from the baneful effects of faction.

"The most I can say is, that if my country is destined in my day to encounter the horrors of anarchy, every power of mind and body which I possess will be exerted in support of the Government under which I live, and which has been fairly sanctioned by my countrymen.

"I should be unworthy the character of a Republican or an honest man if I withheld from the Government my best and most zealous efforts because on its adoption I opposed it in its unamended form. And I do most cordially execrate the conduct of those men who lose sight of the public interest from personal motives. It is with painful regret that I perceive any occurrence of late have given you uneasiness. Indeed, Sir, I did hope and pray that it might be your lot to feel as small a portion of that as the most favored condition of humanity can experience. And if it eventually comes to pass that evil, instead of good, comes out of

"the public measures you may adopt, I confide that our country will not so far depart from her character as to judge from the events, but give full credit to the motives and decide from these alone. Forgive, Sir, these effusions, and permit me to add to them one more, which is an ardent wish that the best rewards which are due to a well-spent life may be yours.

"With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and high regard, I am, dear sir, your much obliged and very humble servant,

"P. HENRY."

(See also letter of Patrick Henry to General Henry Lee. SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, x, Appendix xxiii.)

These letters show that Mr. Henry had in good faith carried out the purpose expressed in the last speech he made against the Constitution, in the Convention of 1788. He then declared that he would live under it a peaceable citizen; and that he would endeavor to remove its defects in a constitutional way, alluding to the Amendments afterwards proposed. (ROBERTSON'S *Virginia Debates*, 465.) Though opposed to Jay's Treaty and the Alien and Sedition Laws, he yet refused to go with that party which he believed had a tendency to break up the Government. (See his letter to A. Blair, in SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, xi., Appendix xviii.) The famous Resolutions of the Virginia Legislature of '98 and '99 aroused in his mind the strongest fears lest the country should encounter the horrors of anarchy; and many of the best and wisest of the land shared his apprehensions. It was at the earnest solicitation of General Washington that he determined to offer for a seat in the ensuing Legislature, and redeem the promise contained in the extract above. Different accounts have been given of his speech in the canvass—the last speech he ever made. But a publication made by Mr. Charles Campbell, in the *Petersburg Index* of August last, settles the question. He publishes the certificates of George Woodson Payne, Mr. Henry's brother-in-law, and of the Rev. Clement Read, Colonel Clement Carrington, and Robert Morton, his countymen and gentlemen of high character and intelligence. Three of these gentlemen heard Mr. Henry's last speech, and testify that his effort was to quiet the minds of the people, to persuade them to use constitutional means to remedy their grievances, and thus to prevent a dissolution of the Union; and three of them testify that Mr. Henry disapproved of the Alien and Sedition Law.

The terms "Federalist" and "anti-Federalist," first used to designate the parties proposing and opposing the Constitution, after its adoption changed their meaning. Before the post-constitutional parties had become defined, which so powerfully convulsed the country, Mr. Henry had



retired from public life. He declined a re-election to the Legislature, in the spring of 1791. Death prevented his sitting in the Session of 1799; and his last speech was the only political speech he made after those parties arose. His letter to Mrs. Aylett, in 1796, (WIRT's *Henry*, 400,) declares that at that time he had not changed his political opinions; and where have we the evidence of his political apostasy at any time? If Mr. Jefferson relies on Mr. Henry's opposition to the Resolutions of '98 and '99 to establish his apostasy, the answer is at hand. If the fact that Mr. Henry, after opposing the adoption of the Constitution, opposed the Resolutions of '98 and '99, proves his apostasy, the fact that Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, after supporting the adoption of the Constitution, supported the Resolutions of '98 and '99, proves their apostasy. If Mr. Jefferson intended to fix the apostasy in the year 1790, the date of Hamilton's funding system, then I answer that the Legislature of Virginia did not look upon Mr. Henry as an apostate. In 1794, Mr. Henry was elected United States Senator; and, in 1796, he was elected Governor for the fifth time.

The charge, then, against Mr. Henry, of political apostasy from corrupt motives is, I submit, utterly untrue; and his character is untarnished by such ungenerous aspersions, from whatever quarter they may come or with whatever design they may be uttered.

The statement that "General Washington offered Mr. Henry the position of Secretary of State to flatter him, knowing he would not accept, and was entirely unqualified for it," if true, is more discreditable to General Washington than to Mr. Henry. But it is contradicted by the statement of General Washington, contained in the letter offering the position. In that letter he said to Mr. Henry: "It would be uncandid not to inform you that this office has been offered to others; but it is as true that it was from a conviction in my own mind that you would not accept it (until Tuesday last, in a conversation with General Lee, he dropped sentiments which made it less doubtful) that it was not offered first to you. I need scarcely add that if this appointment could be made to comport with your inclination, it would be as pleasing to me as I believe it would be acceptable to the public. With this assurance and with this belief, I make you this offer of it. My first wish is that you would accept it." (SPARKS's *Writings of Washington*, xi., 81.)

If General Washington's design was to flatter Mr. Henry, or to get from him his political status, surely the answer he received must have been satisfactory.

What, then, must we conclude from the following extract from a letter from General Henry Lee to Mr. Henry, dated the twenty-sixth December of

the same year, which is before me, remembering that General Lee (according to Mr. Jefferson) was acting as the common friend of General Washington and Mr. Henry? Says General Lee:

"The Senate has disagreed to the President's nomination of Mr. Rutledge, and a vacancy in that important office has taken place. For your country's sake, for your friends' sake, for your family's sake, tell me you will obey a call to it. You know my friendship for you; you know my circumspection; and I trust you know, too, that I should not address you on such a subject without good grounds. Surely, no situation better suits an individual than that will you. You continue at home only on duty. Change of air and exercise will add to your days. The salary excellent and the honor very great. Be explicit in your reply."

How strange that General Washington, so admirable a judge of men, should offer the position of Secretary of State to one who had "no accuracy of idea in his head," and, if General Lee is to be believed, should be willing to appoint the same man Chief-justice of the United States, though he had been always "to lazy to acquire or practice law"! I can only find a parallel to this conduct in that of the State of Virginia towards the same person, which, though abounding in great men at the time, imposed upon Mr. Henry her highest offices during a period of more than twenty years, and continued to proffer them even after they had been steadfastly refused.

That the violence of party spirit, scrupling at no misrepresentation to injure an opponent, did, in some small measure, succeed in alienating from Mr. Henry the affections of his countrymen after his voice was hushed in death, may be true; but it could never have been said with truth "that sunk to nothing in the estimation of his country." The effect of detraction, however, was ephemeral. Mr. Wirt could write in 1817: "The storm of 1799, thank Heaven, has passed away, and we again enjoy the calm and sunshine of domestic peace. We are able to see with other eyes and to feel with far different hearts. \* \* \* The sentiments now so universally expressed in relation to Mr. Henry, evince that the age of party resentment has passed away, and that that of the noblest gratitude has taken its place."

In conclusion, I cannot but express regret that, of the private and confidential communications received by Mr. Wirt, and by him studiously withheld from the public eye, this one, containing rumors and opinions to the disadvantage of Mr. Henry—rumors refuted by other evidence, and opinions overthrown by a large majority of voices, as we are assured by Mr. Wirt himself—should have appeared in print at this late day. (See letter to F. W. Gilmer, in KENNEDY's *Life of Wirt*,



ii., 79, which evidently refers to this manuscript.) It cannot but create unpleasant feelings even in the minds of the warmest friends of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Wirt refused to give publicity to this manuscript, doubtless in accordance with the desire of Mr. Jefferson himself, to whose criticism he submitted his *Life of Patrick Henry* in manuscript, and by whose advice he published it. (See letters of Jefferson and Wirt, in KENNEDY'S *Life of Wirt*, i., 407—412.)

WM. WIRT HENRY.

## X.—THE FIRST SLAVES BROUGHT INTO MASSACHUSETTS.

By REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

So much has been said on the subject of Slavery in Massachusetts, that the following item will doubtless prove interesting.

In the Icelandic Sagas relating to the visits of the Northmen to America, we find a brief account of two persons in the Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne who were evidently slaves. They are mentioned twice in both of the principal accounts of the voyage of Thorfinn, who came into what forms a part of the present territories of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in the year, A.D. 1007, and remained for a period of three years. These two Sagas will appear in a volume relating to the Icelandic voyages to America, now being prepared for immediate publication by the writer; yet, nevertheless, we give an extract here.

In regard to the persons mentioned, it is necessary to observe that Olaf Tryggvesson was King of Norway; that Lief was the person who came into New England in the year, A.D. 1000; and this Eric was the father of Lief, and the founder of the colony in Greenland, A.D. 985. The extract is taken from the Saga, as given in Professor RAFFN'S *Antiquitates Americanae*, on pages 168-87. The account says:

"When Lief was with King Olaf Tryggvesson, and he sent him to establish the Christian Religion in Greenland, then the King gave him two Scots-folk, a man named Heke, and a woman named Hækia. The King told Lief to carry them with his men, if he would have his commands executed quickly, as they were swifter than beasts. These folk Lief and Eric gave to Karlsfne for the voyage. When they came to Wonder-strand they put these Scot-folk ashore, and told them to run Southward and explore the country and return again before the end of three days. They were thus clothed, having a garment that some call a *Biafal*: it was made so that a hat was on top, open at the sides, without arms, [*sic*] buttoned between the legs and fastened with button and strap; and the rest was bare,"

"Wonder-strand" was without doubt that long reach of sandy shore which the sailor notes as a very prominent feature of the outer, or ocean side, Cape Cod. It was called "*Wonder-strand*" by those ancient navigators, because it seemed such a long time while they were passing by. These Scot-folk were doubtless taken prisoners by the Viking in some one of their descents upon the Irish coast, the inhabitants of Ireland at that period being known chiefly as Scots.\*

That Slavery had a real existence among the Northmen there is most abundant proof; and these two Scot-folk were doubtless the first Slaves ever introduced into Massachusetts.

B. F. D.

## XI.—FORT EDWARD, IN 1779 AND 1780.

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE CAPTAIN-COMMANDING.

GARRISON ORDERS, FORT EDWARD,  
May 23, 1779.

Sargent Prindle is to do duty as Sargent Magor and be obeyed as such—

A Gard to mount at this post Consisting of one Corporal and Six privates to be regular Releived every morning at Eight of the clock. to be one Sentra by day and two by night—

Know Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier are to strowl more than one hundred Rods from this Garrison without leave from his officer—

Know gun to be fiered in or about this garrison on any pretence what ever Except at the Enemy. the gard are to take up and Confine all persons so offending and they may Expect the Surverest Punishment

Pr order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt. Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD  
June 5 1779

Whereas a noise in or about the Garrison is a great Detremet to the Sentra in discharging of their duty, these are to order all persons in or about this Garrison to Repair to their Quarters at Tatto breating and Behave there peasible and quietly without any nois or Dustrbance—

The officers of Gards to see that these orders are Complied with in the Strickest Sence as they shall be answerable for the Neglect—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD  
June 24 1779—

Whereas I have bin informed that the Soldiers Belonging to this Garrison make a practise of Cuting bords for fiers in Consequence of which thes are to forbid any Non Commissioned officer

\* The Latin Poet, Claudian, says:

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,  
And the wide ocean foamed with hostile oars."



or Soldier to Cut or destroy, or mak use of any bords in or aboutt this garrison without first obtaining Leave of the Quarter Master who has the care of them—

Pr order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt. Com.

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARDS

June 29 1779—

Court Marshal to Set this day to Try Such Prisners as Shall be brought before them—

Lieut Michael Duning President

Lieut William Monten

Lieut David Baits

#### Members

The Court met agreeable to the above orders being sworn—Proseed to the trial of Corporal John Frame, Confined for Cuting and throing into the river a Cart the property of Mr Doty

Pleads not guilty—

Afterwards acknowledge that he did through an old Cart of Baergoines Leaving into the river the Court Judge him to pay Mr doty ten dollars and return to his duty—

MICHAEL DUNING President

the afforegoing Judgement aproved of and ordered to be Complied with Emmediately—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

After takeing Lieut Baits from his Seat and puting Lieut Putnum in his place. Proseed to the trial of Docter Prindle Confined for impertinent Language to Lieut Baits—Pleads not guilty—

Doctor Warshburn on oath saith that the other day as Lieut Baits was going out of the barruk door and prindle Coming in he beleives prindle struck Lieut Baits dog on the Side of his head, that Lieut Baits turned aboutt and asked who kicked his dog Sum of the men Stood by answered No one had kicked him. Lieut baits asked who had struck him. Prindle answered I struck him Lieut Baits asked what he struck him for. for fun by God said prindle. on which Lieut Baits struck prindle and asked him how he Liked that fun. at which prindle Cursed and damd Lt Baits. Lieut Baits gave him two or three blows more and then Called for a file of men—Prindle being very full of anger raved and cursed every thing that came first in his head Damd the dog and the rascal that owned him and further saith not—

Ira Horskens David Hull Bengaman Olney on oath Testifies and saith that a few days past as Lieut Baits was walking out of the Barrick Door and Doctor Prindle was Coming in that prindle did in their presance Cuf Lieut Baits dogs ear Lieut Baits turned aboutt and asked who kicked his dog Sd Olney answered nobody kicked him Lt Baits then asked who struck him Doctor Prindle answered I did Sir. Lieut Baits asked

him what he Struck him for Prindle answered for fun Sir. Lieut Baits then Struck him Damd him and asked him if he Struck for fun Prindle answered yes by God as you have my dog often at which Lieut Baits Struck him Several times and called for a file of men and sent him to the gard house—On Mature debleration upon every Curcumstance of the witnesses the Court find the prisner guilty of giving impertinent Language to Lieut Baits but the matter is attendd with Such Curcumstances that the Court Sentances him to a survear repremand for the same upon his knees from the Commanding officer at the head of the troops at this garrison and return to his duty—

MICHAEL DUNING President—

The above Judgement approved of and ordered to be Complied with this Evening at rool call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

July 5 1779—

Whereas it is very unbecoming and unsoldier-like action for a soldier when on Sentra to Set down on his post These are to forbid any soldier to Set down when on his post on Penalty of being Punished for disobedience of orders—Every soldier when on Sentra are to Carry their arms properly when any officer passes them—

The officers of gard are to see these orders Complied with as they shall be answerable for the neglect as well as the Soldier—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

August 25 1779—

A Court Marshal to Set this day to try Such Prisners as shall be brought before them—

Capt Brown is President—

Lieut Putnum, Ensign Barret—

Lieut Prime, Ensign Morrison—

#### Members—

Pr JOHN SHIPMAN Capt Com.

The Court met agreeable to the above orders being sworn Proseed to the trial of Mathew Brayton of Capt Browns Company Confined for refusing his duty—

the prisoner pleads guilty—The Court Sentence him to receive Sixty Lashes on the naked back well laid on and then put in irons and sent to albony to Col V Schaick—

WILLIAM BROWN President

The aforesd Judgment approved of and ordered to put in Execution this evening at rool call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

April the 1<sup>st</sup> 1780—

These are to forbid all Persons in or aboutt



this Garrison to Dip any Camp Kettle or any other dirty vessel in to the spring that is within the garrison—any person so offending Shall Receive thirty Lashes on the naked Back without the Benefit of a trial— JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS April 12 1780—

AT FORT EDWARD

as waisting of ammition is a great detrement to the Public as well as our own Preservation—these are to direct that no Non Commissioned officer or Soldier belonging to this garrison waist or fier away their ammition on any Pretence whatever except at the Enemy Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier are to be revued every monday night when he is to Produce his ammition and if it appears that he has waisted or lost any through negligence ore Carelessness they may expect to be Punished accordingly— JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

April 23 1780

Whereas the Saifty of this Post Depends on the exertions of the Small Number of Men here, and his Country and his own Personal Saifty ought allways to be the grand Characterestick of a Soldier and keep him Continually on his gard—

These are to direct that Every Soldier in this garrison keeps his arms in good order and his accutrements in such a Position that in Case of an alarm that he Can lay his hand upon them in the dark and be ready for action in a moment—

Those men that belong to the hospital are likewise ordered to keep their arms and accutrements in the same order as the other men and in case of an alarm they are emmediatly to Repair to the garrison—Officers Sarvants are to comply with the affore going orders the same as tho they were actually Doing duty as a Soldier—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

GARRISON ORDERS May 16 1780

AT FORT EDWARD

Sergeant Bonett is to do duty as Sargnt Magor and be obeyed as Such—

A gard to mount to morrow morning Consisting of one Corporal and six Privates to keep one Sentra by day and two by night—To be Regular releived every morning at eight of the clock

The Sargent of the New Levies are to make report of all the men on the ground fit for Duty to the Sargnt Magor every morning at Rool gard mounting—Every Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the parade at Sun Set every Night for Rool Call—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

May 23 1780

Isaek Pennel is is to Duty as a Sargent and be obeyed as such—

A gard Consisting of one Sargent one Corporal and twenty two privates to be ready to march with two days Provisions Ready Cooked to morrow morning by five of Clock to gard the Teams to Fort george—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

May 23 1780

Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier in this garrison are strickly forbid to thro any Bones Pot liker or any kind of filth on to the parade within the garrison or Emty any kettles through the windows onto the Parade—

Any Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier so offending may expect to be Surverly Punished for Disobedience of Orders—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

Orders for THOMAS MILES FORT EDWARD

May 28 1780—

You are directed to take twelve men with you and Proseed to the North Branch of the North River make what discoveries of the enemy you can and Return in three days—

You are to keep a Constant look out for marked trees Broken bushes Tracks or fiers and if you discover either you will make strick observation what corse they steer, Judge of their Number and Designs, send one man back to make report and keep on your rout with the rest, you are not to sleep in any house Nor sleep without a Sentra—

Wishing your succsess and safe return

I am yours

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

To THOMAS MILES—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

June 8 1780—

Court Marshal to Set this day at eleven clock to Try such Prisners as shall be brought Whereof Capt Will Moulten is President—

Members—

Capt Harrison

Lient Lyon—

The Court being met an duly Sworn Proseed to the Trial of James Cambel a Sargent in Capt Daniel Williams Compony Collo Powlans Regiment N York State Levies Confined for Plundering the house of Pardon Dayley—

The Prisner being brought Pleads guilty the Court sentence him to be Redused to a Private Sentinel and Receive a repremand from his Commanding officer—

WILLIAM MOULTEN President

the above Judgement aproved of and ordered to be Complied with this Evening at Rool Call—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

June 2 1780

The Revele is to be beat in the Morning at



Break of day When every man is to turn out for exercise and Rool Call—

The orderloys of Each company is to attend and see that the men are all on the parade and call the rool. Any Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier through Neglect disobeys these orders may expect Punishment in the most survere Manner—the Corporal of the gard is to awake the Drummer every morning—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

June 23 1580—

William Weed and Benganan Fish are to do the duty of Sargeants and be obeyed as such—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS June 28 1780

AT FORT EDWARD—

Court marshal to Set this day at ten of the Clock to try such Prisners as Shall be brought before them Where of Capt Baits is President the Court to Set where the president Shall appoint—

Capt Harrison *Members.* Lt Buel

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreeable to aforegoing Orders being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Henry Allen belonging to Capt Harrison Company of new Levies. Confined for disobedience of Orders—

being brought before the Court Pleads guilty—he being a young Soldier the Court is of the opinion that he brought to the post striped and tied to the Post for ten minits and return to his duty—

Cornelious Chatfeild of the Same Company of Levies Confined for sleeping on his post being brought before them pleads guilty—

The Court Sentence him to Receive one hundred Lashes on the naked back well laid on and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this evening al Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS June the 28 1780

AT FORT EDWARD—

The Commanding officer directs that the orders of June 3 1779 and July 3 1779 be read to the men at this garrison this evening al Rool Call, and they are to Conform themselves to those orders in the Strickest Sence of the words—Phinahas Founlain is to be Camp Culliman the Sargnt Magor to see that the Chambers and halls are swept before gard mountang—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

July 14 1780—

Court Marshal to Set this day at ten of the Clock

to try such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof

Capt Baits is President

*Members.*

Lieut Buel

Lieut Vwormer

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court being met Preseed to the Trial of Corporal Trull belonging Capt Harrison's Company of New Levies Confined for Disobedience of orders Repeatedly obsenting himself from Garrison after Tatto Beating Confined by Phinahas Heath Sargnt M

The Prisner being brought before the Court pleads guilty and Begs the mercy of the Court—Afture mature Deliberation on the matter the Court are of the oppinan that he be redused to the ranks and Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his duty—David Goff of Capt Chapmans Company Coll Warners Regiment Confined for Disobedience of orders Confined by Sargnt heath. he being Brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court is of opinion that he suffer twenty four hours imprisment Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his Duty—

Aron Lyn of Capt Harrison Company of Levies Confined for over staying his furlow confined by Capt Chipman—

he being Brought pleads guilty but Says Sick-ness was the Cause of it. by the Best accounts the Court Can obtain it appears that he was Sick, and order him to his Duty—

DAVID BAITS Capt President

The aforegoing Judgment approved of and ordered to be complied with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

#### ORDERS FOR CAPT SHERWOOD

FORT EDWARD July 25 1780—

Sir you will take your Company, with one Lieut two Sargeants and twenty five Privates of Capt Harrison Company and Proseed To Fort ann and their take Post, on your arrival their you will Emmediately send Scouts to the head of South bey and Skenesborough which Scouts you Constantly keep out Releiving them as often as you think proper. You will Employ the rest of your men in fortifying yourself in Such a maner as you Judge Necessary for your defence—you will Communicate all Extradonary Entilignce you may Receive, to me that I may be able to inform the Comanding officer of the Nothern Department—

Wishing you Success and a happy Command

I am Sr your obedient humble Sarvnt

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

August 4 1780—

Court Marshal to set this day at ten of the



Clock to Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them Whereof

Capt Baits is President—  
*Members.*

Capt Harrison Lieut Bawlden  
The Court to set when the president appoints  
Pr Order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreeable to the above order Being Sworn Proseed to the Trial of Philip Reyley of the New Levies belonging Capt Chipmans Compony Stand Charged with Disertion. Being brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court Sentence him to Receive one hundred lashes on the Naked back well Laid on Pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in execution this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Commant—

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

August 7 1780—

know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier are to go more than one hundred rods from this garrison without their arms Nor without Leave from Their officer—The gate the North side of the garrison is to be made fast and not opened on any pretence—The Corporal of the gard is to order all persons Passing or repassing to be chalenged and enquire into their bisness if he is surpicious of them he is to bring them to the Commanding officer—know strainger nor any person that is suspected of being a tory is to be allowed to Com within the garrison except they have Peticuler Business and then the Corporal of the gard is To Conduct them to the person their Business is with and waight and take them out Clear of the garrison—know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier is to visit those people Called tories at their houses Nor hold any Correspondence with them on any pretence whatever any person that disobeys this ordors may expect to Be Punished accordingly—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS August 8 1780 FORT EDWARD—

Court Marshal To Set Immediately To Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them. Whereof

Capt David Baits is President

*Members.*

Lieut Bradshaw Lieut Bawlden—  
Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Magr N Levies

The Court met agreeable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Nathan Start belonging to the N Levies Confined for Disobedienc of orders and Disertion—he being Brought before the Court Pleds guilty of both crimes—The Court is of the oppinian that he Receive forty Lashes for disobedience of orders well Laid on and one hundred Lashes on the naked back well Laid

on for disertion and pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this Evening at Rool Call—  
Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Magr Comdt N Levies—

#### ORDERS FOR LIEUT ROBARDS

FORT EDWARD August 12 1780—

Sir you will take Twenty five men of Capt Harrison's Compony and Preseed to Palmar Town and their take post in the most Convenient place—you are to Fortify yourself in the best Manor you can Devise—

you are to keep Constant Scouts to the N West branch of the N. river Jesons Patton and as far west towards Jamestown as you Judge will be Necessary to intercept the enemys penetrating the Country in that quarter—be Peticuler curfull to inspect all the fording places on the Sagondaga Branch—

you are to keep your men together except Those on Emmediate Command—be Carfull to avoid a Surprise from the enemies Scouts—you will be carfull to give the earlist intelligence of the approach of an enemy—you will indeavour to borrow Sum Cattle for your Preasant Support from the inhabitants if they refuse to Lend them you must take them, keeping an exact account of the Weight of meat hide and Tallow and the persons names you have them from in order that they may have as good ones Replaced again—That is a Stretch of power But at present Cannot be help—

Wishing you Sucsess and a happy Commaud

I am with Respect your obat Sarvnt—

JOHN CHIPMAN Magr Comdt

To LIEUT ROBARDS—

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

Sept 9 1780—

A Court Marshal to Set this day for the trial of Such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof Lieut Bradshaw is President

*Members.*

Lieut Sherwood Lieut Giles  
Lieut Bawlding Eyga M<sup>r</sup> Lowrey  
SETH WARNER Col. Comdt

The Court met agreeable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the trial of David Loff of Magr Chipmans Compony of Levies Confined for Disobedienc of Orders and Disertion he being brought pleads guilty—the oppinian of the Court is that he shall Recieve Seventy-five lashes on the naked back and return to his duty—

THOMAS BRADSHAW prsd

The afore going Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Excution this Evening at Rool Call—

Pr order SETH WARNER Col Comdt



GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE,  
Sept<sup>r</sup> 26 1780—

Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier that has drew Bayonet Scabords and Belts from the public are to Return them in to Public Store—

The Commanding officers of Companies to see the above articles Collected and the Regimental Quarter master to Recpt<sup>t</sup> for the Same—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Octobr 2 1780—

Where as Complaint is maid by the Adgnt and Sargnt Magor of the great Difficulty they meet with in giting the men out the Parade in consequence of which these are to direct that the Revile is Beat every morning at break of day when Every officer Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the parade, except one officers Sarvnt to each room—The men are also ordered to keep their arms and accoutrements in good order and in such a position that they can lay their hand upon them in the dark and if ocation Calls be ready for action in a moment—They are also to observe to be on the parade on every call of the drum without the least delay—the Sargeant of the gard is to awake the drummer every morning—

The Commanding officer Expects these orders will be Complied with in the strickest sence of the word and who ever disobeys mav expect the surverest punishment—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Octr 8th 1780—

Court Martial to Set immediately to such prisoners as shall be brought before them

THOMAS SILL is President

Ens<sup>n</sup> Grant }  
do Lighthall } *Members*

The Court to Set where the President shall appoint—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court Convened and being duly sworn proceeded to the tryal of Corp<sup>l</sup> John Fretcher of Capt Wolcotts Company confined Neglect of duty—Pleads not guilty The Court after hearing the evidence finds him guilty; and sentince him to be reduced to a private Sentinol and do duty as such.

THOS SILL Prisdt

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be Complied with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Octb<sup>r</sup> 11 1780—

Sir as it is reported to me that their is a small party of savages near Bloddy pond, you will immediately take Forty Eight men, officers included and Proseed on the main road untill you make

discoveries of them, keeping a Suffiseiant advance and Flank gards in Such a manner as to prevent being surrounded. if you find a large party you will Emmediately Retreat to the fort except they should be savages only in which case you will attack and immediately charge upon them—

XII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

90 EATON SQUARE, LONDON, 4th July, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—I hold it of good augury that your letter of the twelfth of June reached me by the *Herman* just in time to be answered this morning.

You may be sure that I have spared no pains to discover in the British State Paper Office, a copy of the resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg, and with entire success.

A glance at the map will show you that, in these days, the traffic of that part of North Carolina took a southerly direction; and people in Charleston, and sometimes even in Savannah, knew what was going on in "Charlotte Town," before Governor Martin. The first account of "*the extraordinary resolves by the people in Charlotte Town, Mecklenburg County,*" was sent over to England by Sir James Wright, then Governor of Georgia, in a letter of the twentieth of June, 1775. The newspaper thus transmitted is still preserved, and is the Number 948 of the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, Tuesday, the eighteenth of June, 1775.—I read the resolves, you may be sure, with reverence, and immediately obtained a copy of them; thinking myself the sole discoverer. I do not send you the copy, as it is identically the same with the paper which you enclosed to me; but I forward to you the transcript of the entire letter of Sir James Wright. The newspaper seems to have reached him after he had finished his Despatch; for the paragraph relating to it is added in his own handwriting, the former part of the letter being written by a Secretary or Clerk.

I have read a great many papers relating to the Regulators, and am having copies made of a large number. Your own State ought to have them all; and the expense would be for the State insignificant, if it does not send an Agent on purpose. A few hundred dollars would copy all you need from the State Paper Office, on all North Carolina topics. The Regulators are, on many accounts,



important. Their complaints were well founded, and were so acknowledged; though their oppressors were only nominally punished. They form the connecting link between resistance to the Stamp-act and the movement of 1775; and they also played a glorious part in taking possession of the Mississippi valley, towards which they were carried irresistibly by their love of Independence. It is a mistake if any have supposed that the Regulators were cowed down by their defeat at the Allernance. Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow and crossed the mountains.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and to be of use to you or your State.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

D. S. SWAIN, Esq.,

Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

THE CITY OF MYSTERIES.—A contemporary aptly, we think, nicknames Rochester, New York, the "City of Mysteries." It was there, he says, that many years ago the plans were matured for the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, whose fate to this day has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Out of the Morgan affair, a political excitement was involved that swept, like a hurricane, all Western New York, and prostrated the Democratic party of the State. Here also was printed the *Book of Mormon*, by the Prophet Joe Smith, who pretended to have dug the golden plates from a sand-hill near Palmyra. The result of this wonderful imposture is now seen in the strange developments in Utah. It was in Rochester that the Fox girls brought out the mysterious sounds known as the "Rochester Knockings." From this germ sprung the modern spiritual system, numbering Judge Edmonds, Senator Tallmadge, and other eminent men among its votaries. The most recent Rochester mystery was the strange disappearance of Miss Emma Moore, in November last, and whose body has just been found in a mill-race, under circumstances which deepen the mystery.

#### A VENERABLE CHURCH.

LANCASTER COUNTY, Va., June 24, 1865.

Christ Church, in this County, is a curiosity well worth seeing. The records of the Parish extend back two hundred and eleven years, according to Bishop Meade; but the present building was erected in 1832. It has not been much used for some years, on account of its isolated situation and the bad condition of the roads in Winter. But, notwithstanding this fact and the injury done to it by both parties during the war, it is still sound in the main. It is cruciform. The roof is very steep and the exterior somewhat ornamented

around the doors and windows. Around the venerable building lie the still more venerable dead of two centuries. Let us hope that while their remains quietly lie beneath the sod their tombstones do not lie above, for the epitaphs, in some instances, are very flattering.

Entering the church, the first thing that meets the eye is the singularity of the pews, which are high and enclosed on all sides—each one being, in fact, a box with seats on three sides.

This arrangement makes it impossible to see anything of one's neighbor, even when standing up, except the top of the head. Very provoking this would be in these days of rapid changes in the fashions. What would the gentlemen do if they couldn't see the pretty faces of the ladies; and the ladies (not if they couldn't see the gentlemen—oh, no!) if they couldn't see one another's rats, and cats, and cataracts, and other charming things they wear between the back of the head and the front, denominated Bonnets, by courtesy. However, if the congregation couldn't see one another, they could see the clergyman. Indeed, if they were a mind to do so, they could survey him all around by an occasional change of seat, for the pulpit is very high and stationed at one of the angles of the cross projecting toward the center of the church.

The usual sounding board is suspended over the pulpit. The chancel is in one of the arms of the cross, on the right of the pulpit. The font, the bowl of which is now broken from the stem and lies upon the communion table, is large and beautiful. The top of the table is split either by the weight of the bowl or by violence. The original plastering is still on the roof and walls, uninjured save where discolored by a few leaks in the roof, which has been only twice repaired, and is now in good order. The floor is of stone; and in the center of the church is a tombstone inserted in the floor, bearing the solemn inscription:

"*Todie mihi, cras tibi.*"—"To-day for me; to-morrow for thee."

In one corner, near the chancel, is one still more curious, the epitaph of which is as follows. The spelling is copied *verbatim*; but in the original every letter is a capital:

"Here Lyeth Buried Ye Body of John Carter, Esq., Who Died Ye 10th Day of Jan., Anno Domini, 1669; and Also Jane, Ye Daughter Mr. Morgan Glyn, and George, Her Son, and Elinor Carter.

"And Ann, Ye Daughter of Mr. Cleave Carter and Sarah, Ye Daughter of Mr. Gabriel Ladlowe; and Sarah, Her Daughter, Which Ware All His Wives Successively, And Died Before Him.

"Blessed Are The Dead Which Die in the Lord, etc."



How many wives had he, and which were they?

Lately the building has been thoughtlessly used by picnic parties. Strange that so little reverence for things dedicated to sacred uses should exist in the minds of people living in Christian lands.

LA FAYETTE.—On the invitation by Congress to General Lafayette to visit the United States, a national ship, the *Delaware*, 74, then just finished, was to be the vessel, which Lafayette declined, on the ground that such a public demonstration was inconsistent with republican simplicity. The vessel which brought him was the packet-ship *Cadmus*, the wales and bottom planks of which have been subsequently employed at San Francisco, in repairing "Battery-street, in front of Wheeler's gymnasium."

"MASON'S AND DIXON'S LINE" was run in December of 1763, to terminate a dispute between the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Its subsequent claim as the political line dividing the free from the slaveholding States is purely accidental. Mr. Latrobe, in an essay read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, three or four years since, says that Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon landed at Philadelphia from London, in November, 1763, and entered at once upon their work, which confirmed a previous rough survey made in 1761 and 1762. He says: "The lines whose history has thus been given were directed to be marked in a particular manner, both by the agreements of the parties and the decree of Lord Hardwicke; and the surveys accordingly planted, at the end of every fifth mile, a stone graven with the arms of the Penns on one side and of the Baltimore family on the other, marking the intermediate miles with smaller stones having a P on one side and an M. on the other. The stones with the arms were all sent from England. This was done on the parallel of latitude as far as Sideling Hill; but here all wheel transportation ceasing in 1776, the further marking of the line was the vista of eight yards wide, with piles of stones on the crests of all the mountain ranges, built some eight feet high, as far as the summit of the Alleghany, beyond which the line was marked by posts, around which stones and earth were thrown the better to preserve them!" Dixon died in England, in 1776; and Mason in Philadelphia, in 1787. It is said that Dixon was born in a coal mine.

ORIGIN OF A POLITICAL SAYING.—In one of his letters from the West, Bayard Taylor attempts to account for the phrase: "Will row up Salt River."

Salt River, where it debouches into the Ohio River, is not more than fifty or sixty yards in breadth, but very deep. It is never fordable, even in the driest season; and, being navigable for fourteen miles above its mouth, has not been bridged at this point. We descended its steep and difficult banks, embarked our carriage upon a flat ferry-boat, and were conveyed across. The view looking up the river was very beautiful. Tall elms and sycamores clothed the banks, dropping their boughs almost to the water, and forming a vista of foliage through which the stream curved out of sight between wooded hills. I longed to row up it. While on the spot I took occasion to inquire the derivation of the slang political phrase, "Rowed up Salt River," and succeeded in discovering it. Formerly there were extensive salt-works on the river, a short distance from its mouth. The laborers employed in them were a set of athletic, belligerent fellows, who soon became noted far and wide for their achievements in the pugilistic line. Hence it became a common thing among the boatmen on the Ohio, when one of their number was refractory, to say to him, "We'll 'row you up Salt River'—where of course the bully salt-men would have a handling of him. By a natural figure of speech, the expression was applied to political candidates, first, I believe, in the Presidential campaign of 1840.

STRANGE MIXTURE OF RACES.—There is said to be in Rochester a man aged one hundred and six years, whose ancestry, together with his own progeny, will exhibit one of the strangest mixtures of races ever heard of. His name is John Shendoah O'Brien; and he was born in Boston, in 1762. His father was an Irishman, and his mother an Indian of the Oneida tribe. When twelve years old he was sent to France, and there educated as a physician. He returned to America, and served in the Revolutionary war. Afterwards, he went back to France, and there married the daughter of the Emperor of Morocco, by whom he had eight children. With her he lived in the United States for some time, and she died. He then married an American woman descended from the Teutonic line; and, after her death, married a negress, who was fifty years younger than himself, and by whom he had four children. In his children are united the blood of the Celt, the Teuton, the African, and the North American Indian.

CROCKETT'S LOG CABIN.—On the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, not far from Jackson, in Tennessee, it is said, still stands the humble log cabin, eighteen by twenty feet in size, built and occupied while he lived in the District, by the far-famed David Crockett. Its logs are fast decaying, and



desolation surrounds it; but no traveler passes it without an eager desire to look upon that humble roof that sheltered one of the truest representatives of the American pioneer character—a hero and an honest man. Near it is a railroad station, called Crockett's Station; around it, perhaps, will rise a town to bear and perpetuate a name as familiar to his countrymen as that of Jackson.

**LARGE TREES.**—Until within a few years there stood near the junction of the Scantic River with the Connecticut, in the town of East Windsor, a large sycamore or buttonwood. After the tree had partly decayed, and a shell of wood, perhaps two inches thick on the outside remained, Mr. John Pelton found that a pole twelve feet long could be placed horizontally inside of the shell, making the tree more than thirty-six feet in circumference. Another tree measured twenty-four feet. These trees stood near where the first English settlers in Connecticut located.

**VALUE OF AMERICAN SILVER COINS.**—At an auction sale in New York, this week (November, 1867,) of the silver coins of the United States, of the quarter dollars, the one which brought the heaviest price was the quarter dollar of 1823, very rare, there having been not more than a score probably ever put into circulation. It sold for \$47.50. Of the dimes, the choice impressions were sold as follows: A dime of 1842, very fine, \$25; 1843, very fine, \$25; 1851, and from that time down for the next ten years, the dimes brought only 15 to 50 cents each. Of the half-dimes, that of 1794 brought \$10, and others from that date to 1801 brought from \$3.25 to \$3.60 each. The half-dime of 1802, which is said to be more rare than any other coin in the American silver series, there being but three specimens known, was bought for \$45. Others sold for prices ranging from \$3.75 to \$1.22. Large prices were paid for other coins, of which the largest was for the silver dollar of 1804, which was purchased for \$750.

**QUAINT DIRECTIONS.**—The following list is taken from the *Boston Directory* of 1789—the first one ever published:

Mrs. Baker, innholder, sign of the Punch Bowl, Dock-square.

Mary Butler, boarding-house for gentlemen and all sorts of garden seeds, No. 56 Newbury-street [now Washington-street, near Essex].

Joshua Brackett, innholder, Cromwell's Head, South Latin School-street.

Bellerive de Berry, gentlemen, near Phillips's rope-walk.

Moses Bradley, sign of White-horse, near Charles River Bridge [to Charlestown].

Daniel Crosby, wig-maker and clerk to Trinity Church, Newbury-street.

Wm. Cordwell, brazier, sign of the Dog and Pot.

Wm. Doak, Windsor-chair maker. Back-street [now Salem-street].

Frothingham, Wheeler, & Jacobs, coach-makers, at the Laboratory, near the Hay-market, in West-street.

Samuel Gore, Painters-arms, Court-street.

Israel Hatch, innholder, sign of the Grand Turk, Newbury-street.

Samuel Jenks, sign of the Bellows.

Mrs. Loring, innholder, sign of the Golden-ball, Merchants' Row.

Joseph Morton, sign of the White-horse, Newbury-street.

Abigail Moore, sign of the Lamb, Newbury-street.

John Pope, schoolmaster and surgeon, particularly a curer of cancers and malignant ulcers, &c., Vincents' lane, [now the upper part of Franklin street].

James Vila, Bunch of Grapes Tavern.

Claude de la Poterie, Roman Catholic priest, Vice-prefect and Missionary Apostolic, Rector of the church in South Latin School-street, dedicated to God under the title of the Holy Cross, Oliver's-lane.

John Warren, Physician, South Latin School-street, next Cromwell's Head.

Abigail Woodman, stay-maker and man-tailor, Creek-lane.

**A RELIC.**—The Pedestal on which stood the Equestrian Statue of George III., in Bowling Green, has been in use, for the last half century as a stepping stone to dwellings occupied by the Vorst family, in Jersey City.

The *Jersey City Telegraph* mentions some facts connected with its history. This stone was the pedestal of the statue of George III., which stood in Bowling Green until the year 1776, when the statue was run into revolutionary bullets. In 1783, Major John Smith of the British army died, and was buried on a hill, near the present site of St. Mathew's Church, in Sussex-street. The hill was leveled in 1804, by Andrew Dey, or the Jersey Associates. It is not known what then became of the remains of Major Smith.

John Van Vorst, grandfather of Alderman Van Vorst, took the stone and made a step of it to his old mansion, which stood a few rods south of the present J. Van Vorst's residence. That building was demolished in 1818; and the pedestal was transferred to the residence of the late Cornelius Van Vorst, on the northerly side of Wayne-street,



near Jersey-street. It there became a stone step at a kitchen door, and remained until when workmen were removing it to be used again for the same purpose; and, upon turning it over, they discovered an inscription as follows:

In memory of  
Major JOHN SMITH,  
Of the XLII<sup>d</sup>  $\square$  or Royal Highland Regiment,  
Who died 25th July, 1783,  
In the 48th year of his age.  
This stone is erected  
By the  $\square$  brave officers of that Regiment.  
His Bravery, Generosity and Humanity, during an  
Honorable service of 29 years,  
Endeared him to the soldiers, to his acquaintance and friends.

The stone is of Portland marble five and one-half feet long and four inches thick; and was brought to this country from England, to be used as a pedestal to the statue. In 1828, an English gentleman called upon Mr. Van Vorst and offered him five hundred dollars for this stone; but the offer was declined. It yet bears the marks of two of the feet of the horse, which are designated above by  $\square$ . *New York Tribune.*

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.—P. Hutchinson, whose grandfather was a son of Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, states, in a communication to a British journal, that the family have MSS. of his ancestor that have not been printed. Among them is a Diary, kept from 1774 until his death in 1780, and a *verbatim* account of his interview with George III. on his first arrival in England. Both the King and the Minister, Lord Dartmouth, were so anxious to see him that he was not allowed time to procure a court dress, but was introduced to them just as he was, in travelling costume. The interview was a long one, and the Governor committed the whole to the paper *verbatim*.

The same ship which carried over Governor Hutchinson's son, in 1776, also carried over the family of Copley, the artist, among whom was Lord Lyndhurst, who then was four years old. Mr. Hutchinson states that the Governor's salary of two thousand pounds a year was continued until his death; that he lived on terms of friendship with all the first persons, and visited, with his family, the King. To this it may be added that there are at the State House MSS. of the Governor, consisting of his private letter book, very curious—portions of which only have been printed.—*Boston Post.*

PENNSYLVANIA.—In strolling through the church-yard of old St. Peter's, Great Valley,

Chester-county, some time since, I was struck with the numerous instances of old age attained by the greater part of those who slept beneath its tombstones; the first eight of which I looked at marked ages between seventy and ninety years. Soon my attention was called to another part of the enclosure by seeing ten large marble slabs, supported by marble columns, all of them alike in appearance, and ranged side by side. On going to the spot I found that they covered the remains of a father, mother, and eight children. The family name was Lloyd. Their deaths occurred between the years 1820 and 1856. The father—William Lloyd—died at the age of eighty-eight, December the first, 1820; the mother—Rachel eighty-five, December the third, 1820—only two days apart. The three sons and five daughters, none of whom were ever married, died at the respective ages of fifty-two, sixty-six, sixty-seven, sixty-eight, seventy-three, eighty-two, eighty-five, and ninety! So remarkable a case of family longevity is rarely witnessed. I do wonder which of the two was most conducive to it, to wit; the healthy atmosphere of Chester-county, or the happy celibacy in which they lived? *Philadelphia Sunday Despatch.*

THE LOSSES OF GEORGIA.—The losses of Georgia, during the war were enormous, far more than is generally realized at the North. The statistics furnished in a recent Report of the Comptroller-general of that State enable us to form a tolerably correct conception of the damages sustained by Georgia. By the tax returns of 1866, the taxable property is estimated at two hundred and twenty-two millions, one hundred and eighty-three thousands, seven hundred and eighty-seven dollars; while in 1860, it was returned at six hundred and seventy-two millions, two hundred and ninety-two thousands, four hundred and forty-seven dollars; which, reduced to currency, would be two hundred and eight millions, four hundred and thirty-eight thousands, six hundred and sixty-three dollars, making over seven hundred millions, as the loss occasioned by the war in one State alone.

This estimate does not include the amount swallowed up in Confederate bonds and scrip, which the Comptroller believes would swell the total loss of property in the Empire State of the South to above a thousand million dollars. This seems incredible. The returns of population, as far as they have reached the office, indicate a decided loss in population. Eighty-six thousand, nine hundred and nine white population is reported, against ninety-nine thousand, seven hundred and forty-eight, in 1860; showing a loss of twelve thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine, or nearly one-eighth. No such extraordinary ex-



ample of voluntarily encountered impoverishment and destruction of life can be furnished by history.

A GAELIC SETTLEMENT IN CAROLINA.—In a letter which the *Inverness Courier* has received from a Reverend friend in North Carolina, U. S., are the following interesting particulars:—

"It may be interesting to some of your readers to learn that the Scotch Highlanders were among the first settlers of the State of North Carolina. The great majority of them were from the Hebrides, from Islay, Jura, Mull, Coll and Skye; and not a few from the mainland of Argyll. The precise date of the landing of the first Scottish emigrants in the Carolinas cannot be well ascertained. It appears that Scotch families were settled on the Cape Fear River previous to the division of the Province into North and South Carolina, in 1729. Some time between 1744 and 1746, a Highlander, named Neil Macneil, from Argyllshire, visited North Carolina. He returned to Scotland in 1748, and, in the following year, landed in Wilmington, North Carolina, with his family and about three hundred emigrants (some say six hundred) from the District of Kintyre, Argyllshire. It is said that upon the arrival of so unusual an importation at Wilmington, the authorities, struck with the dress and language of the new comers, required Macneil to enter into a bond for their peaceful and good behavior. Perhaps the warlike spirit of the Celtic race struck the Wilmingtonians with such terror as led to the demand of the bond. Our intrepid countryman managed to evade the demand, and, ascended the Cape Fear with this band of his countrymen. From this period the emigration was yearly on the increase. Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh and his lady, the farfamed Flora Macdonald, famous for her adherence to the unfortunate Pretender, Prince Charles, in his forlorn condition after his defeat at Culloden, emigrated with a number of others from the Isle of Skye; so that every year added to the number of the Scotch Highland emigrants, until they soon formed the majority of the population and controlled the civil and ecclesiastical interests of no less than seven Counties, viz: Cumberland, Bladen, Robeson, Richmond, Montgomery, Moore and Harnett.

"The Gaelic language is spoken in its purity by many in these Counties; and in both my churches I preach in it every Sabbath. On last Sabbath, I assisted at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper in a congregation forty miles distant from my home, and preached and served a table at which upwards of one hundred and fifty had taken their seats, who have not heard a sermon

"in the language of their childhood for the last ten years. Many a tear was shed during the service, many a warm shake of the hand, such as a Highlander can give, was given, and many a blessing was bestowed upon your correspondent at parting with the warm-hearted people. The Reverend Colin Maciver, a native of Stornoway, Lewis, was the last preacher who could preach in Gaelic till I came to the State, two years ago. He died in this town, in 1850, much respected and regretted by his countrymen in North Carolina. I will state an instance of the preponderance of the Scotch Highlanders in this State. The *North Carolina Presbyterian*, a religious paper and the organ of our Synod, published in the town of Fayetteville, has upwards of eight hundred Macs on its list of subscribers, besides those who claim the honor of pertaining as much to the Celtic race as those who bear that ancient patronymic.

"The Presbytery of Fayetteville, of which I and one of my sons are members, has thirteen Macs among its clerical members, and seven others who will not yield the palm to their brethren of the Mac families in tracing their Celtic origin; and hence our Presbytery has the cognomen of 'the Scotch Presbytery' given to us by our brethren of the Synod of North Carolina."

OLD CHURCHES IN NEW JERSEY.—The Dutch Reformed Church on Bergen Hill, about two miles back of Jersey City, claims to be the first church of any denomination established in New Jersey. The First Presbyterian church at Elizabeth was organized in 1666. It was the first church in New Jersey where services were held in the English language. The old First Presbyterian church on Broad-street, in this city, was built in 1673, the congregation having been organized in 1667. The Baptist church in Piscataway, Middlesex-county, was established in 1680. The Raritan Dutch Reformed church, in Somerset-county, near the junction of the North and South branches of the Raritan river, was organized in 1790. A Presbyterian church was established not far from Freehold, in 1692. The Episcopal church at Perth Amboy was established in 1698. The Presbyterians first had worship in Perth Amboy, in 1781.

GENERAL KNOX.—No journalist ever goes to Thomaston without examining the Knox mansion. In 1795, General Henry Knox, after serving his country in the most honorable manner during the Revolutionary war, and then as Secretary of War, under Washington, resigned his



office, and removed to Thomaston. He had been a bosom companion of Washington during the war, which had ripened into a friendship that continued until Washington's death. General Knox came into possession of the Waldo Patent; and, in 1793, sent an architect, with workmen, to build him a spacious mansion. This building had a basement of brick, on which were two lofty stories of wood and a cupola-like story in the roof. It had a swelled front, and made a very imposing appearance. This, with the out-buildings, cost fifty thousand dollars, and was said to be unequalled by anything of the kind in the Commonwealth. It was situated on the banks of the George's River, near the site of the old fort. In the rear, it was sheltered by the forests; and in front, the expanse of water, with its cool breezes and the distant landscape, rendered it charming to the eye. The mansion was named Montpelier. The family came in a sloop, from Philadelphia, in 1795. General Knox here lived like a Baron. It is said that a hundred beds were made, and an ox and twenty sheep slaughtered in a week, and twenty saddle-horses and carriages kept to accommodate guests and sojourners. He once invited the Penobscot tribe to visit him, and fed them till he was obliged to invite them to go home.

The General paid attention to the introduction of settlers, and the manufacture of lime. He attempted to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep, having imported a coarse-wooled breed from England, which he crossed with our native breeds, and increased the weight, if not the quality, both of the carcase and the fleece. Ship-building also engaged his attention. He also improved the navigation of the George's River, for the passage of rafts and gondolas as far up as Union.

In consequence of these various operations, he soon became a busy business man. His wife was a lady of fashion; but he chose for his companions, men of wisdom and talent. His library contained one thousand, five hundred and thirty-five volumes at the time of his death. He seemed to be somewhat Utopian in his schemes; but engaged in his private affairs with zeal. It was on the twenty-fifth of October, 1806, that General Knox died quite suddenly, from swallowing the sharp bones of a chicken at dinner. His funeral was celebrated with military honors, and his remains now lie in the village cemetery, beneath a monument of Thomaston marble. The inscription is as follows:

"The Tomb

"of

"MAJOR GENERAL KNOX,

"who

"died Oct. 25, 1806.

"Aged 56 years.

"'Tis Fate's decree; farewell! thy just renown,  
"The hero, honor, and the good man's crown."

The mansion is still standing, but in a dilapidated condition. Relic hunters have stripped much of the inside. The piazzas, balconies and gates are all gone. The furniture is all gone. We ate our dinner to-day at the General's dining-table, in the house of one of the citizens. Thus fades away a man's glory. His works and his bones alike decay.

AN OLD ROMAN COIN FOUND AMONG THE MACKINAC INDIANS.—The *Detroit Free Press* was shown, recently, by G. M. Wendell, of Mackinac, a relic, in the shape of an old Roman coin or medal, in an excellent state of preservation, with the inscriptions and figures quite distinct and in good relief. This coin, Mr. Wendell states, was given to him by an Indian at Fort Mackinac, who said he found it, or dug it up in the earth. This being the fact, the opening for speculation is wide as to how it came there. The first thought is that it was brought to the New World by the Jesuit Missionaries, who, in their self-sacrificing devotion to their chosen duty, penetrated the heart of the continent generations ago, and made their dwelling-place among the aborigines, while they endeavored to teach them the truths of the cross. Or this mute relic of the ages might have been brought by the Nordmen, who, venturing away from the Icelandic or Scandinavian harbors, coasted at length along the shores of North America, and from thence carried inland till it found the resting-place from which it has now been exhumed. Or still another hypothesis: The ancient working of the Lake Superior mines, so evidently the labor of a more enlightened race than the Indian, may have been the means of bringing the coin hither. But, if this were so, why have not more of them, or similar relics, been discovered? The first of the above premises is, no doubt, the correct one, and this coin has served as a pocket-piece to Father Marquette, or some one of his coadjutors. As in this connection it might have a striking significance to some persons, as it belonged to the time and reign when the new religion of Christ was beginning to be preached, having been struck off in the beginning of the second century, it would thus be a significant accompaniment to the introduction of Christianity into the New World.

The coin, which is of the size of a nickle cent, and as thick as an American ten cent piece, bears upon the face a medallion portrait of the Roman emperor, Trajan, surrounded by the following inscription:

IMPERATORI TRAJANO AUGUSTO GER.—DAC—  
P. M.—T.—R.—COSS.—V. P. R. "The Sen-  
ate and People of Rome to the conqueror of the  
"Germans and Dacians, Chief Ruler."



Upon the reverse, is the figure of a Roman warrior clad in armor, with a spear and shield, with these words :

"S. P. Q. R.—OPTIMO PRINCIPI."—"The Senate ate and the People of Rome to the best" (or most cherished) "prince."

This little relic, insignificant in itself, has come down through the centuries from the time of the ruler under whose command the Roman arms were carried further than ever before or after.

**A RHODE ISLAND EMPEROR.**—A correspondent of the *Fall River News* says that, in 1792, a colored man by the name of Newport, who belonged to Henry Bowers, then a wealthy merchant of Somerset, R.I., was a sailor in one of his master's vessels. Being in St. Domingo at the time of the insurrection, he left his vessel and joined the insurgents. He was intelligent, bold, and reckless. Hailing as he did from the United States, the blacks saw in him the man who would secure their freedom and achieve their independence. On the capture of Touissant L'Overture, he was appointed Commander-in-chief; and on the first of January, 1804, under the name of Jean Jacques Dessalnes, he was proclaimed Emperor for life. He was assassinated, on the fourteenth of October, 1806.

**THE OLDEST PERSON KNOWN.**—A colored woman, Mrs. Flora Stuart of Londonderry, N.H., the *Manchester American* says, is the oldest person known in the United States. She was born in Boston in 1750, and consequently is twenty-six years older than the Declaration of American Independence. As she tells the story, her father and mother, when she was three months old, came into possession of the Simpson family of Windham, N. H., as slaves, and remained with them until after the abolition of slavery in that State.

### XIII.—NOTES.

**STAMP TAX.**—This sort of tax is not novel in this country. In 1756, the Legislature of New York passed a law establishing a Stamp Office for stamping all Vellum, Parchment, and Paper charged with certain duties. Next followed the famous Stamp-act passed by Great Britain, in 1765. And we have now before us a Promissory note drawn by Jer. V. Rensselaer, in favor of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany, for Twenty-three Dollars, dated "19 Decr., 1798," which is on a Ten cent stamp. This consists of a shield in the centre, surmounted by a spread eagle. On

the upper part of the circle are the words "TEN CENTS": at the bottom "NEW YORK." ALBANY, N. Y. O'C.

**VALUE OF AMERICAN AUTOGRAPHS.**—A Parisian firm advertises the signature of Jefferson Davis for sale at fifteen francs, and of William H. Seward for ten francs. J. W. BELFAST, MAINE.

**ORIGIN OF GETTYSBURG.**—"Died.—In Gettysburgh, (Pa.) Mrs. Isabella Gettys, in the 84th year of her age; and on the evening following, her son, General James Gettys, proprietor of that borough, in the 56th year of his age."—*N. York Columbian*, March 28, 1815. NEW YORK CITY. T. F. D. V.

**OLD BELL.**—It is said that in Marietta, Ohio, the bell in use on the Court-house is the one presented by that unfortunate Queen, Maria Antoinette of France, after whom the town was named. This bell is held in great esteem by the citizens. BELFAST, ME. J. W.

**SMALL POX.**—I find a case of this in New Amsterdam, "17 Feb. 1663," in a woman in labor. Her name was Maritjie Jansen, widow of Cornelis Langevelde, who died about a week before; but I know not of what sickness. The woman recovered.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

**ENGLAND AND AMERICA IN 1813.**—The following is from the *London Times* of March 13th, 1813:—

"The public will learn, with sentiments which we shall not presume to anticipate, that a third British frigate has struck to an American. This is an occurrence that calls for serious reflection—this and the facts stated in our paper of yesterday that Lloyd's list contains notices of upwards of five hundred British vessels captured in seven months by the Americans. Five hundred merchantmen and three frigates!

"Can the statement be true; and can the English people hear them unmoved? Any one who had predicted such a result of an American war this time last year would have been treated as a madman or a traitor. He would have been told, if his opponents had condescended to argue with him, that long ere seven months had elapsed the American flag would be swept from the seas, the contemptible navy of the United



"States annihilated, and their maritime arsenals rendered a heap of ruins.

"Yet down to this moment not a single American frigate has struck her flag. They insult us and laugh at our want of enterprise and vigor. They leave their ports when they please and return to them when it suits their convenience: they traverse the Atlantic, they beset the West India Islands, they advance to the very Chops of the Channel, they parade along the coasts of South America—nothing chases, nothing intercepts, nothing engages them, but to yield them triumph."

NEW YORK.

J. M.

#### XIV.—QUERIES.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE LONG ISLAND TURF.

MY DEAR SIR:—While perusing a file of *The Royal American Gazette*, published in this city by Alexander Robertson, I noticed, in the number for Thursday, April 26, 1781, the following advertisements, which I have copied *verbatim et literatim*, for the amusement of your readers:

ASCOT HEATH Second MEETING.—On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of June next, being in WHITSUNTIDE WEEK, will be run for on each of those days,

A Purse of One Hundred Pounds Value.

Also on each of the said days, will be run for a purse of TWENTY POUNDS value.

Calculated for horses that are not properly trained.

Particulars of the whole will be notified, in proper time, by advertisements and hand-bills.

Brooklyn Hall, April 26, 1781. CHARLES LOOSELEY.

STOLE from the Plains of Flatlands, on Saturday night last, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, about seventy yards of new WHITE INCH ROPE, that had been fixed there for the utility of the races. The rope is the property of CHARLES LOOSELEY, at Brooklyn-Hall; and he hopes that every exertion will be made to bring to justice the perpetrators of this inroad upon property, and insult to commendable amusements—for which purpose TWENTY GUINEAS will be paid on conviction of one or more of the offenders, by

Brooklyn Hall, April 23, 1781.

As Wood and Thompson, the historians of Long Island, are silent respecting "Ascot Heath," I cannot even guess with any degree of certainty, where it was, much less give any particulars respecting its spirited manager.

If any of your readers can do so, probably some of your younger readers might feel interested, as would

Your old foggy friend,  
THE WRITER.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE, who died on the twenty-seventh of May, 1819, at Marietta, Ohio, a native of Rhode Island, "was the man who fired the first shot on the water in defiance of the British Flag, which he ventured to do on the twenty-fifth of June, 1775, at a time when no other man in the Colony would undertake the

"hazardous business, lest he should be destined to the threatened cord."

I find the above in the *New York Columbian*, July 2, 1819. Can any one furnish an account of the circumstances attending this "first shot?"

T. F. DE V.

#### XV.—REPLY.

KNICKERBOCKERS, (*H., M., II. ii. 312*)—A recent member of *Punch* has a cartoon purporting to be a "Study of an animated discussion between two gentlemen of diametrically opposite views. Subject of discussion: Gentlemen's Evening Dress: Shall it remain as it is, or shall black velvet *Knickerbockers* and Silk Stockings supersede the present discreet cloth unmentionables."

This seems to indicate that the article referred to by "K," was akin to a pair of breeches.

NEW YORK CITY.

TYPO.

#### XVI.—BOOKS.

##### I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y." or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1. *Voyages of the Slavers*, St. John, and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1633; together with Additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the original manuscripts, with an Introduction and Index. By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsel. 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxxii, 255.

The third of the series of "New York Colonial Tracts" which Mr. Munsel is laying before the world, is now before us; and if the two which preceded it are of little general interest, the third supplies the deficiency and stamps the series with an importance which every student will appreciate.

It is true that the Dutch introduced Negro Slavery into America, in 1619; yet not even the commercial spirit which controlled that enterprising people could induce them, for many years, to continue a trade in slaves, not even in slaves which they captured from their enemies. As lately as 1631, two cargoes of Negroes which were captured off Hispaniola from the Spaniards, were set at liberty with the ships which carried them, because the Dutchmen were not from Massachusetts and knew no use, as Merchandise, to which they could put the captives.

The capture of Pernambuco, Curacao, and other Southern territories, soon after, led to a change in this temper, however; and, in 1636, the Dutch also were busily engaged in selling men at public



auction. Five years after, they captured Loando St. Paulo; and from that time, for many years, the African Slave-trade was completely controlled by them.

There does not seem to have been any Negro Slavery in New Netherland, however, until 1625 or 1626, when eleven, thought to have been captured at sea, were brought to Manhattan. Two years after, three others were introduced into the infant settlement; and there is said to be no record of any other than these until the feudal scheme of Patroonships was set in motion, in 1629, when the Company encouraged it by promising to those who proposed to establish Colonies, that it would "use its endeavors to supply the "Colonists with as many Blacks as it could, conveniently"—certainly not very enticing to the settlers and very conclusive, as evidence of the extent and profit of the Dutch Slave-trade in New Netherland, even when spurred to it by the prospect of an increased settlement in America.

It was not until the summer of 1646, it is said, that the first Slave-ship, the *Amandare*, arrived at the Mannhattans. The Negroes were purchased by the Colonists in exchange for Pork and Peas; and great were the expectations which had been raised concerning them—but "they just dropped "through the Fingers" of the homely Dutchmen, and like the children who have had their fingers burned with a hot poker, they wisely let the Negroes alone, and were not easily tempted to touch them, again, even six years after, when a direct trade to Africa was thrown open to them by the Mother Country.

In 1655, slaves began to be regularly imported into New Netherland; but there seems to be no evidence that the trade was carried on by the residents of the Colony; and it is equally evident that it was not carried on with Africa, direct, until several years later—"to the Credit of New "Netherland, it is to be recorded that," as lately as 1664, "no Ships nor Merchant belonging to "that Colony had ever been engaged in the African Slave Trade. An effort had, it is true, "been made to embark in it, but the Project, fortunately for the Honor of the Country fell "through."

The slave traffic of New Netherland, like that of Massachusetts, seems to have been with the West Indies and Curacoa, rather than with Africa: unlike that of Massachusetts, it was carried on with Pork and Beans, and other home productions, without stealing Indians from the out-country, to serve as currency with which to pay for the Africans whom the Colonists might purchase there.

In the volume before us we have two papers which possess something of the character of protests of officers of two slave ships which were lost between Africa and the Indies—one by shipwreck, and the other by capture;—and these

trifles have served as a nucleus for what must prove to be a very important addition to the historical literature of New York. Indeed, our good friend, the Editor, informs his readers that he has gathered and translated the Papers in the Secretary of State's Office, illustrative of Slavery and Slave-trade under the Dutch; and those who know him will rest assured that nothing has been concealed, as is the habit elsewhere, when anything is discovered which tells against the Apocryphal claims of Apocryphal ancestors.

Of this work, only one hundred copies were printed; and its beauty, as a specimen of fine work, will ensure it a welcome even among those who feel no interest in the historical character of its contents.

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2. *Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery during the Confederate Struggle for Independence.* By Charles C. Jones, Jr. Late Lieutenant-colonel of Artillery, C. S. A. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. 240.

In this truly beautiful volume, we have another of those personal narratives, by actors in the recent Civil War, which in times to come will possess so much importance in the hands of the historian, as guides for his pen and as tests of his merit.

The Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, was one of the oldest and most honorable of the military associations of the South; and when it was called into the service of the State, by the legally constituted authorities, it responded with alacrity and good faith. It was among those who occupied Fort Pulaski, on the third of January, 1861; who garrisoned that post, during several months; who fought at Secessionville, James Island, Fort Wagner, Olustee Station, etc.; and whose influence was widely felt throughout the Confederate armies. The record of its services, therefore, must be useful to the student and the historian, and the documents with which the narrative is illustrated and enforced will not be easily found elsewhere.

Although we do not agree with the Author in the political portions of the work, we can readily understand why he insists on their maintenance before the world, and as readily we can excuse them in one who honestly believes them. Those portions of the volume which are *historical* in their character, without regard to any other, entitle it to the careful attention of every student of the history of the recent war; and for these alone we commend it to the attention of our readers.

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3.—*The Queens of American Society.* By Mrs. Ellet. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. (2) 464.

In this volume, Mrs. Ellet has produced sketches of the lives of a large number of the most distinguished women of our country; and in some



cases, these sketches are illustrated with portraits, and in others they are crammed with puffs and the most marked attempts at display.

It is not to our taste, notwithstanding the apology in the Preface, that any of our countrywomen should assume to be "Queens" among their sisters; and, notwithstanding more than one of our personal acquaintances are brought before the world in this volume, we cannot bring ourself to the belief that either of them was really aware of the use that was to be made of the material which was evidently furnished to Mrs. Ellet for this work.

Notwithstanding this drawback, we regard the volume as a useful addition to the Biography of America, since the family histories of many of the leading houses is opened to the student, and will often be found useful.

If the paper had been of better quality the volume would have been a handsome one; as it is, it only so-so.

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4.—*The Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. N. B. Forrest, and of Forrest's Cavalry*, with Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. By General Thomas Gordon and J. P. Pryor. New Orleans, Memphis, and New York: Bielock & Company. 1868. October, pp. 704.

In the volume before us, we have another of those authoritative volumes, concerning the War of Secession, which are beginning to take their places in the permanent literature of the country, much to the relief of the working student and certainly to the benefit of Historical truth.

It is the work of two gentlemen who have had the free use of all the material, whether documentary or epistolary, concerning the military life of General Forrest; and as that officer has given to it his personal approval, like Badeau's *Grant*, this work may be considered as Autobiographical in its character and importance. It cannot be overlooked, therefore, by any one who aspires to honorable authorship concerning the recent War; and it must continue to occupy its leading position as long as the subject of which it treats shall possess any interest to the world.

It is a pattern of typographical neatness in a volume which is open to "the Trade;" and we have pleasure in calling the attention our readers to it.

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5.—*A Rejoinder to Mr. Bancroft's Historical essay on President Reed*. By William B. Reed. Philadelphia: The Author. 1867. Octavo, pp. 114.

Our readers will remember how earnestly and how effectually Mr. Reed, a year ago, defended the memory of his grandfather from Mr. Bancroft; and how ably and manfully he combatted the personal enmity which had led Doctor Rush and General Cadwalader to mislead those who had followed them, concerning the character and con-

duct of Joseph Reed, whether considered as a soldier or civilian, as an office bearer or as a man: this handsome pamphlet annihilates Mr. Bancroft's subsequent apology for his former slanders; and leaves no excuse for his eagerness to detract, even at the cost of the Truth.

We have read every line of Mr. Reed's argument and of the testimony of the original authorities with which he has so amply sustained it; and we see nothing, in the questions which have been raised, which seems to require any further explanation or any further argument. Indeed, the open frankness with which, from the beginning, Mr. Reed has conducted this important discussion, the number and character of his authorities, his successful exposure of Mr. Bancroft's unpardonable falsehoods—falsehoods which have evidently originated in an unenviable prejudice against President Reed or an equally unpardonable unfriendliness to the President's grand-son—and what is known to have been the ignominious retreat to a foreign Court, of the slanderer of Schuyler and Reed, of Greene, and Sullivan, and Wayne, from the face of that indulgent community whose confidence he had thus so much outraged under the cloak of History, are among the most notable events of the past few months, in the Historical world; and there are not a few who will regard the return of Mr. Bancroft from his professional exile as a public misfortune which his tenth volume cannot possibly recompense.

As the greater number of our readers will probably procure the tract to which we have referred, we forbear any further comments concerning it. It may be had, we believe, at Appletons, in New York City.

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6.—*A Memoir of the last year of the War of Independence, in the Confederate States of America*, containing an account of the operations of his commands in the years 1864 and 1865. By Lieutenant-general Jubal A. Early. Lynchburg: C. W. Button. 1867. Octavo, pp. 136. Price \$1.00.

This volume, originally privately-printed by the Author, is thus re-produced with his permission for the benefit of the Virginia Memorial Association, which has undertaken the task of collecting and burying the Confederate dead.

It is the testimony of one of the principal actors during the recent Civil War, concerning the movements of his immediate commands; and it must continue to be important to every student of the history of that eventful period, as long as that history shall be studied.

We have not yet found time to examine the work for ourself, as we shall very soon endeavor to do; but those who have read it, bear witness to the candor of the author and to his manliness in assuming the responsibility for acts which those who are less upright would have most likely left with other persons.



The work is neatly printed, and is an important addition to the literature of the War.

7.—*The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1868.* The Tribune Association, New York, pp. 104. Price 20c.

A very useful repository of information on the various political topics of the times, including the Acts of Congress, the votes at recent elections, etc.—all from the Radical Republican standpoint.

8.—*The Democratic Almanac and Political Compendium for 1868.* New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 82. Price 20c.

An attempt to make an Almanac to match that issued by The Tribune Association, but from the Democratic standpoint. It is, however, a sorry failure, and entirely unreliable.

9.—*The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library.* 1867. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 96.

In this neatly printed official pamphlet, we find the Fifteenth Report of the Trustees of the excellent Public Library of Boston; and we have seldom seen so completely exhaustive a Report.

The character of the Library building, the number and character of the Books, the quantities and relative proportions of the different classes, the catalogues, the administration of the institution, the circulation of the books, etc., are carefully discussed in its pages; and its lessons may be usefully studied by others beside librarians.

Thus, we learn of serious defects in the construction of the fine building which is occupied by this Library; that its library of reference numbers 110,881 volumes, and its circulating library 25,199, exclusive of 6,243, which have been worn out, stolen, or lost during the past ten years; that in the former, 11 per cent. of its contents are American History and *Literature*, and in the latter, American History is allowed 4.3-10ths of the collections, against 37.4-10 to Fiction; that during the year, 208,963 volumes were in use, of which, in the Library of reference 9 per cent. were American History and *Literature*; in the Library of Circulation 2.9-10 per cent. were History and *Politics*, while, in the former, Fiction is not noted, and in the latter it formed 68.1-5 per cent. of the entire circulation.

It is quite evident that the intelligence of our countrymen serves them very poorly; and that the Republic which rests on the virtue and intelligence of such as these, rests only on a very sorry foundation.

Verily! ours is truly a superficial age.

10.—*Davega's Hand-book of Central Park.* Sine loco, sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 48.

One of the catchpenny advertising concerns of the day, in which a running description of the Central Park has been interwoven.

The title-page says it is "DAVEGA'S"; the Preface says it was written by "JULIAN K. LARKE"; the running title, at the head of every page, calls it "BALDWIN'S Hand-book"—as the Jew said to the passer-by the Publisher evidently says to the purchaser of this affair:—"You pays your money and takes your shoise."

11.—*Final Proceedings and General Report of the Southern Famine Relief Commission.* New York, November, 1867. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 21.

Our excellent friend, John Bowne, Esq., the General Agent of the Commission, has sent this tract to us; and we learn from it that one hundred and sixty-nine thousand, three hundred and sixteen bushels of Corn were shipped by that body from the City of New York alone, for the relief of the Southern sufferers.

It is an interesting *expose* of the liberality which is found in New York; and we are pleased to see the record so distinctly set forth.

## XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PORTSMOUTH, OHIO.—On the morning of Thanksgiving Day last, a large congregation assembled in the First Presbyterian church of this place to listen to an historical discourse, and engage in the other exercises connected with the interesting occasion of the jubilee year of this church. The exercises were opened by the Reverend Joseph Chester of the Poplar-street Presbyterian church of Cincinnati. The historical discourse was preached by the Pastor, Doctor Pratt, from the text *Isa. lxi. 7*. A brief review of the organization of the church, under Reverend Stephen Lindley, in 1817, with the names of its original fourteen members, was given; and also its subsequent history down to the present time, so far as it could be gathered from the records, and the recollection of the older members. Not one of the original members of the church is now living, and but one member of the congregation, Doctor G. S. B. Hempstead.

The church now numbers three hundred and seventy-eight. It has had ten ministers, only four of whom survive, viz.: Reverend H. Nevin of Baltimore; Reverend Aaron Williams, D.D., of Economoy, Pa.; Reverend Hiram Bingham of Windham, Ohio, and the present Pastor. Six have gone to their rest and reward, viz.: Reverend Stephen Lindley, Reverend J. Wood, Reverend Eleazer Brainerd, Reverend, Alexander B. Brown,



Reverend David Cushing, and Reverend Marcus Hicks.

At the close of the services, the congregation partook of an abundant and elegant dinner laid in the lecture room by the ladies of the congregation. Thereafter they assembled in the large upper room, and spent the whole afternoon in singing and listening to addresses and reminiscences of the early days. Doctor Hempstead, Reverend Doctor Burr of the Episcopal Church, Honorable E. Glover, and Captain L. N. Robinson, took prominent parts; and the Pastor read a poem by Mrs. M. R. McAboy, of Paris, Kentucky. In the evening, Doctor Williams read a memorial discourse on the life and character of Doctor Alexander B. Brown, and Reverend Mr. Chester also offered some remarks of a solemn and affecting character; and both speakers were heard again, after the serving of refreshments. The day will be marked with a white stone—the occasion will long be remembered. A full account of the proceedings, including the sermon, will shortly be published.

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—At the regular monthly meeting of this Society, on Wednesday, on the fourth of December, Doctor Winslow Lewis in the chair, the Librarian reported the donation of twelve bound volumes, thirty-three pamphlets, etc., during the last month.

Mr. William H. Whitmore read a brief paper on the *Future Work of the Society*. Among the purposes of the organization, at an early day, was that of issuing a new edition of *Farmer's Register of the First Settlers in New England*; but as Mr. Savage soon engaged himself on the *Register*, the Society left it in his hands. The work as issued by Mr. Savage leaves the opportunity still to enlarge and re-arrange a new and more full edition. Several other undertakings were suggested.

Reverend Elias Nason read a paper on *The Old Bay State at the Front*—an abstract of which, taken from *The Boston Transcript*, we copy below, as a fair specimen of Massachusetts pretension, and of what, in *Boston*, is not considered "SECTIONALISM."

Massachusetts rhymes were nothing but crotchets, and if you deprive an elephant of its legs and tail, taking its proboscis for Cape Cod, you have some notion of its indescrivable form; with a bleak and brumal aspect; a rocky soil; a coast of perilous shoals and headlands; scenery neither picturesque nor commanding: without the grand mountain features, broad lakes, thundering cataracts, pictured rocks, or vast and fertile prairies of some of the sister States, as if

"God's prentice hand he tried on her  
And then he made the rest of them."

Her history: She has done many very silly, saucy, naughty things. She has, now and then, pretended to be hard of hearing, but no one could hear the clinkings of a dollar quicker; sometimes too prim and puckerish, often penny wise and ten pound foolish; she has often started off on some wild goose chase for moonshine, and caught, as Sir Hudibras, a ducking in the darkness.

In the very outset of her career, she hung inoffensive Quakers—innocent persons for witches; stole black men out of Africa and sold them on Long Wharf, Boston; muddled the brains of the red men with rum and then defrauded them of lands and peltry. She rebelled, with one Daniel Shays as head centre; was against the organ and big fiddle in the churches; went into the morus multicaulis or silk worm fever; fancied this world was near its end; embraced table-tipping and attempted to summon "spirits from the vasty deep"; has had "know-nothing" and mutual admiration societies; in short, she has had more antics and cut up more antics than any, I had almost said than every, other State in the whole sisterhood.

Notwithstanding all this, Massachusetts is a grand, a glorious, a magnificent old State still. The blood of lofty patriots courses through her bounding heart: the torch of Science has been here kindled. By the pulpit, the forum, the Senate chamber and the Executive, whenever gyves needed to be riven she has done the work. Her sons with fearless front have met the hurricanes of every sea, and cloven their way into every wilderness; have faced the savage in his wild ferocity, the monarch in the plenitude of his power; have made her name a grand talisman of home and freedom to the wandering exile.

Hard-working, pains taking, right minded, honest-hearted, old Bay State! She has aspired to realize, to sustain, and to carry into execution, the great principles of civil and religious freedom, and those which underlie and make glad our common daily life; which give the poorest boy within our borders a chance to become a compeer with the proudest of the land, and which allow all to worship their Creator according to the dictates of their own conscience; which protect the humblest citizen, irrespective of the color of his coat or countenance. She honors labor, encourages art, cherishes fraternity, preserves equality.

Massachusetts has ever stood in the van of human progress; she has always ranged her forces right abreast of the danger, and struck her blows directly at the front. In the political compact on board the *May Flower*, to which may be traced the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence; in establishing free public schools; in founding the first successful college and setting up the first printing press; she was in position at



the front in the New World. At Louisburg, by her valiant Pepperell; in the march of science, by her Franklin with his kite, she held her place in front. When the Revolution came by James Otis, John Adams, and Samuel Adams, in the decision of great principles, she kept her pioneer position. Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill tell where the first guns were fired and the first battle fought.

By Eli Whitney, through his invention of the cotton gin, and through the whizzing mills at Lowell and Lawrence, our State holds an advanced position in the cotton business. In constructing the first important merchant-vessel, the first man-of-war, in the China trade, oil trade, ice trade, and California trade, in the woollen, shoe and nail manufacture, Massachusetts stands foremost.

The first sewing machine, the first church-organ and pianoforte were built here. Massachusetts established, through Franklin, the postal system, and opened the first public library and Sunday School, and the first Normal school on this Continent. By Bancroft and Prescott, Motley, Palfrey and others, she has written the most valuable histories.

She was first in opening the magnificent system of railroads; and wherever the iron steed is prancing, her hardy sons are found building cities, erecting manufactories, founding schools and colleges, introducing civilization, directing the energies of the people, and, as by native right, leading the way. In the Atlantic Cable, by her Morse and Field, she stands at the head. When the far-off howling of the last wild tempest begun to break upon the ear of our own beloved State, and the thunder clouds came rolling on, and the solid framework of this republic government was shaking, the cry was, Who shall save us? John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts! By his quick combinations the immortal Sixth Regiment was organized, and moved with unexampled speed directly to the danger, and in Baltimore, on the nineteenth of April, wrote out again that mighty Saxon watch-word, Freedom, with her blood, and then went on to stem the storm.

More than one hundred thousand men from Massachusetts served at Fredericksburg and all along the Union line. The monuments at Washington, Antietam and Gettysburg, and those torn and tattered flags at the State House, will tell you she was grandly and magnificently in her position. Finally, the bonds are riven, the Gordian knot is cut, and Freedom's acclamations ring from shore to shore. Immediately, before the community are aware, the iron hand which is forever to bind these shores is pushed to the backbone of the Continent, with Massachusetts men in the lead, and but two rounds of the seasons will have passed when in seven days we can span the country from side to side—on a highway that will open up un-

told mines of wealth and be the foundation of prosperity for all coming generations.

Where will the old Bay State then stand? Let her keep on with her mountain moving labor as she has ever done,

"And in the march of empire still,  
"When comes the battle's fiery brunt,  
"The cry will ring from line to line,  
"Old Massachusetts at the front!"

AUCTION SALE OF RARE BOOKS.—Messrs. Leonard & Co., No. 50 Bromfield-street, Boston, have just completed their auction sale of the library of the late Reverend William Jenks, D.D., comprised of Biblical, Theological, Philological and Historical Books, ancient and modern, and also a large number of antiquarian and other works, the whole containing five thousand volumes and six thousand pamphlets. The library was the collection of the late Reverend Doctor Jenks during his long life-time, and was selected with great care; and the sale contained many works not often found at an auction. The collection was especially rich in linguistic works and had either in whole or in part the Bible in fifty different languages, and among them a copy of the now very rare Eliot's Indian Bible.

The sale lasted three days and was very well attended. The bidding was at times very spirited, and there was quite a contest for the possession of the rarer works. Very fair prices were obtained for all, although the majority of the collection sold at about the average auction rates. Below are the amounts obtained upon the rarer works:

Mather, Cotton. *Translation of the Book of Psalms*; whereto are added some other Portions of the Sacred Scripture to enrich the Cantional, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1718, for \$20; *Military Duties, recommended to an Artillery Company*; at their election of officers in Charls Town, 1686, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1687, for \$30.

Ecclesiastical Tracts. *Advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning a Confession of Faith*, 1646; *Declaration of the Faith and Order in the Congregational Churches*, 1659; *Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France*, 1659; *Platform of Church Discipline in New England*, 1653; *Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children*, by an Assembly of Divines at Boston, N. E., 1659; *Propositions concerning Baptism, at the General Court held at Boston, N. E., 1662*; *An Anatomy of Independency*, 1664; *An Antidote against Independency*, 1644; and other rare tracts. London, 1643-63, for \$100.

Sermons and Orations. *Phenomena quædam Apocalyptica*, by Samuel Sewall. Boston, 1727; *The Mountain Opened*, by Samuel Willard. Boston, n. d.; *Proposals touching the Accomplishment of*



*Prophecies*, by S. Sewall, Boston, 1713; Gillet's *Funeral Oration on Washington*, Hallowell, 1800; and other Discourses by Doctors Robbins, Thacher, Morse, Mr. Harris, etc., 1796-99, small 4to., half calf, for \$48.

Johnson, Mrs. *Narrative of Her Captivity among the Indians*, 16mo. Windsor, Vt., 1815, for \$5 50.

Wise, John. *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused*; small 8vo., Boston, 1715, for \$15.

*Sermons on Early Piety*, by the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday Lecture in Boston, with a Preface and Discourse by Doctor Increase Mather, 8vo. Boston, N. E., 1721, for \$7 50.

Aquino Thome De. *Commentaria in Omnes Epistolas beati Pauli Apostoli*, black letter, folio. Basilee, 1495 (very fine and well preserved copy—a beautiful specimen of early printing), for \$11.

*Sermons. Doctor L. Woods on the death of Doctor Worcester*, 1821; *Sermons by Doctors Dana, Kirkland, Reverend W. Greenough, Mr. Payson and others*, 8vo., for \$13 50.

Eliot, John. Teacher of the Church in Roxbury. *Harmony of the Gospels in the History of the Humiliation and Sufferings of Christ*, Boston, 1678; Hubbard's *Election Sermon*, Boston, 1676. Wakeman's (Samuel) *Young Man's Legacy*. Boston, 1673, in one vol., 4to., for \$55.

Calvinus, J. *Epistolæ et Responsa*, Hanoviae, 1597; Theocritus, Bion et Moschus, cura, Scaligeri et Cassanboni, 1596: in one volume, thick 8vo., vellum, for \$20.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Totius Theologie*, thick, folio, vellum. Antuerpiæ, 1624, for \$7.

Eliot's Indian Bible. *Mamvsse Wunneetupana-tamvæ up-Biblum-God naneesvæ Nukkone Testament Kah wonk Wusku Testament*. Ne quosh-kinnunuk nashpe Wuttineumoh Christ noh asoowesit, John Eliot. Nahohtæu onteheto, Printeuomuk, 4to., calf. Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green, 1685. (The title page and last leaf of the Psalms were in manuscript, beautifully copied by Doctor Jenks, in imitation of the original. With the autograph of Zachariah Mayhew, 1759, for \$300.

*The Massachusset Psalter*; or Psalms of David, with the Gospel according to John, in columns of Indian and English. Being an Introduction for Training up the Aboriginal Natives, in Reading and Understanding the Holy Scriptures. Small 8vo., calf. Boston, N. E., Printed by B. Green, 1709, for \$50.

Mather, Increase. *Masukkenukeeg Matches-eaenvog vequetooq kah Wuttoonanatogg Uppervanont Christoh kah ne Yeuyeu Teanuk*. Small 8vo., calf. Bostonup Printuop nashpe Bartholomew Green kah John Allen, 1698, for \$16.

*Wunnampmamve Sampooaonk*. A Confession of Faith Owned and consented unto by the

Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled at Boston, May 12, 1680. English and Indian, by Grindal Rawson. Boston, printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1699, for \$16.

*Sampwutteeah Quinnuppekompauaenin Wahuwomook uggussemesuoq sampwutteeah Wunnaptamwaenuog*. Without title page. Also John Cotton and Grindal Rawson's *Nashauanittus Meninnunk wutch Mukkiesog*. In one volume. Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green, 1671, for \$12.

*Manitowwompæ Pomantamoonk Sampwshanau Christianoh. Pomantog Wussikkitteahonat God*. Small 8vo. Printed for the Right Honorable Corporation in London for the Gospelizing the Indians in New England. Cambridge, 1685, for \$61.

*Wehkamaonganoo Asquam Peantogig kah asquam Quinnuppejig*, ussoweur Richard Baxter. Small 8vo., Cambridge, printed by S. G., for the Corporation in London, for the Indians in New England. 1683, for \$27.

*Manitowampea Pomantamoonk*, a work in the N. E. Indian language—imperfect at beginning and end, for \$8 50.

Mather, Cotton. *Parentator*. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the ever-memorable Doctor Increase Mather, Portrait by Sturt. 8vo. Boston, printed by B. Green, 1724, for \$21.

Mather, Cotton. *Paterna*. Manuscript, 354 pages, 8vo., (a gift from Madam H. Crocker, with Samuel Mather's autograph,) for \$62 50.

Erasmus, Des. *Moriæ Enconium*, cum G. Listrii Commentariis. Small 8vo., Oxoniæ, 1668, (Cotton Mather's copy, with his autograph—1678,) for \$10.

Hooker, Tho. *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, wherein the Way of the Church of New England is Warranted out of the Word, etc. 4to., calf. London, 1648, for \$11.

Willard, Samuel. *Compleat Body of Divinity*. Portrait, folio, calf. Boston, N. E., 1726, for \$11.

Lombardus, Petrus. *Liber Sententiarum*, una cum Conclusionibus Henrichi Gochzen. Black letter, folio, vellum. Basilee, 1487, (fine copy of a beautifully printed book, with numerous manuscript notes,) for \$10.

The Eliot Bible was bid off for Mr. Trumbull, Librarian of the State of Connecticut, and will probably become a pearl of the collection of that State. The "Mather Cotton, *Paterna*," in manuscript, was purchased by Mr. W. Eliot Woodward, of this city.—*Exchange*.

SCRAP.—An historic tablet is to be placed in front of the Old South Church, giving the facts of the peculiar history of that ancient edifice.